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NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

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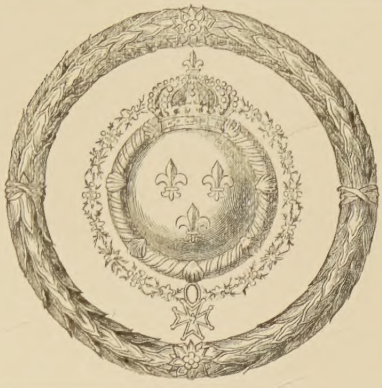
French
Explorations and Settlements
In North America
AND THOSE OF
The Portuguese, Dutch, and Swedes
1500–1700



NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR
LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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VOL. IV.—PART II.

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge

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The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company.

FATHER LOUIS HENNEPIN

AND HIS REAL OR DISPUTED DISCOVERIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE life of this Recollect missionary is derived in its particulars mainly from his own writings; and the details had never been set forth in an orderly way till Dr. J. G. Shea in 1880 prefixed to a new translation of Hennepin's first book a satisfactory sketch. He seems to have been born in Hainault, though precisely when does not appear. Felix Van Hulst, in the title of his tract, gives the date approximately: *Notice sur le Père Louis Hennepin, né à Ath* (*Belgique*) *vers* 1640. Liege, 1845. He early joined the Franciscans, served the Order in various places, travelled as he could, was inspired with a desire to see the world, and felt the impulse strongest when, at Calais, he listened to the narratives of sea-captains who had returned from long voyages. This inclination prompted him to continued missionary expeditions, and to attendance upon armies in their campaigns. In 1675 Frontenac succeeded in his attempt to recall to Canada the Recollects, as a foil to the Jesuits; and among the first of that Order to go was Hennepin, who crossed the ocean in the same ship with La Salle, the ambitious explorer, and De Laval, the new Bishop of Quebec. According to his own account, Hennepin had his first quarrel with La Salle about some girls who were on their way to reinforce the family life of the new colony.[1]

La Salle enjoyed their dances, and Hennepin, as their spiritual guide, kept them under restraint. This, at least, is the Recollect story of the origin of La Salle's enmity for the missionary.

From Quebec Hennepin continued his missionary wanderings, sometimes to remote stations, and at one time, in the spring of 1677, among the Iroquois, — not going, however, to Albany, as has been sometimes asserted. (Cf. Brodhead's *New York*, ii. 307; *Hist. Mag.* x. 268.) Next he accompanied La Salle in his explorations west. Of Niagara he offers us the earliest picture in his 1697 publication, — of which a reduced fac-simile is here given. Others are in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, ii. 511; Shea's *Hennepin*, p. 379, and in his *Le Clercq*, ii. 112; and in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. ii. no. 561. The original cut was repeated in the later editions and translations of Hennepin. These Falls had been indicated on Champlain's map, in 1632, with the following note: "Sault d'eau au bout du Sault [Lac] Sainct Louis fort hault, où plusiers sortes de poissons descendans s'estourdissent." This was from the natives' accounts. Ragueneau, in the *Relation* of 1648, was the first to describe them, though they had been known by report to the Jesuits some years earlier (Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 142). Lalemant, in 1641, called them *Onguiaahra*. Ragueneau gave them no definite altitude, but called them of "frightful height." Hennepin, in his 1683 book, calls them five hundred feet, and in 1697 six hundred feet high, and describes a side-shoot on their western verge which does not now exist. Sanson, in his map of 1657, had somewhat simplified Ragueneau's name into *Ongiara;* but Hennepin gives the name in its present form. There is a great variety in the early spelling of the name. (See *Canadian Journal*, 1870, p. 385.) The word is of Iroquois origin, and its proper phonetic spelling is very like the form now in use (Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 126; O'Callaghan, *Col. Doc.*, *index*, 465). Hennepin had also been anticipated in a brief notice by Gendron, in his *Quelques Particularites*, etc., 1659. Hennepin's account is also trans-

1 This method of supplying Canadian mothers is the subject of some inquiry in Parkman's *Old Régime*, p. 220.

lated in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, v. 47. His engraving was reproduced, in 1702, in Campanius' work on New Sweden.

Hennepin accompanied La Salle to the point where Fort Crèvecœur was built, on the Illinois, and parting from La Salle here in February, 1680, he pursued his further wandering down the Illinois to the Mississippi, and thence up to the Falls of St. Anthony, which were named by him in reference to his being a Recollect of the province of St. Anthony in Artois. On the 3d of July, 1880, the bi-centenary of the discovery of these Falls was observed, when C. K. Davis delivered an historical address. Thence, after being captured by the Sioux and rescued by a party under Du Lhut,[1] Hennepin made his way to the Wisconsin, passed by Green Bay, and reached Quebec. He soon after returned to France, where, on the 3d of September, 1682, he obtained the royal permission to print his first book, which was issued from the press Jan. 5, 1683.

From this point his story[2] can be best followed in connection with the history of his books, and as they are rare and curious, it has been thought worth while to point out a few of the repositories of copies, which are indicated by the following heavy-faced letters: —

BA. Boston Athenæum.
BPL. Boston Public Library.
C. Library of Congress.
CB. Carter-Brown Library, Providence.
HC. Harvard College Library.
HCM. Henry C. Murphy.
L. Lenox Library, New York.

*** For full titles, see the Bibliography in Shea's edition of the *Description of Louisiana*, and the article "Hennepin," in Sabin's *Dictionary*. Cf. also Brunet, *Supplément*, 598.

I. DESCRIPTION DE LA LOUISIANE.

This first book was entitled *Description de la Louisiane nouvellement découverte au Sud-Oüest de la Nouvelle France. Les Mœurs des Sauvages. Par le R. P. Louis Hennepin*, Paris, 1683. Pages 12, 312, 107. Some copies are dated 1684.

COPIES: **BA., C., CB., HC., L.** (both dates).

REFERENCES: Shea (ed. of Hennepin), nos. 1, 2; Sabin, *Dictionary*, no. 31,347; Ternaux, *Bibliothèque Amér.* no. 985; Harrisse, *Notes sur la Nouv. France*, nos. 150, 352; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. ii. no. 1,266, with fac-simile of title; *Hist. Mag.*, vol. ii. no. 24 (by Mr. Lenox), 346; Dufossé, *Americana*, 70 francs, with genuine map, and 40 or 50 francs with fac-simile; Leclerc, *Bibl. Americana*, nos. 897, 898 at 90 and 150 francs; Rich, *Catalogue* (1832), no. 402, 12*s*.

The map, of which a section is herewith given in fac-simile, measures 10.2 × 17.2, "Guerard

[1] Papers on Hennepin and Du Lhut are in the *Minnesota Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i. Du Lhut's "Mémoire sur la Découverte du pays des Nadouecioux dans le Canada," is in Harrisse, no. 177, and a translation is in Shea's *Hennepin*.

[2] Shea (*Le Clercq*, ii. 123) notes a valuable series of articles on Hennepin by H. A. Rafferman, in the *Deutsche Pionier*, Aug.–Oct., 1880.

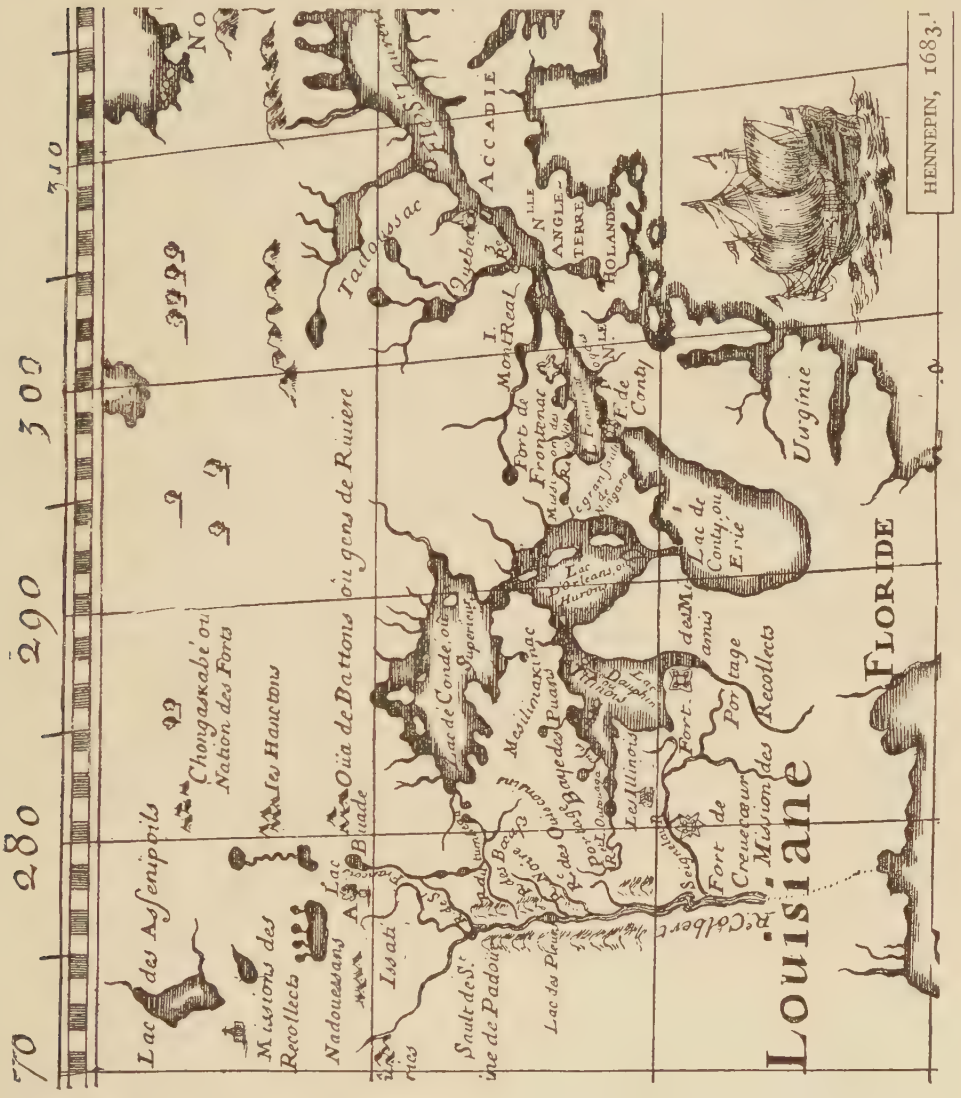
inven. et fecit. Roussel sculpsit," and is often wanting. Cf. Harrisse, no. 352; *Hist. Mag.*, vol. ii. 24.

Harrisse (no. 219; also see no. 238) cites a map preserved in the Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine, which seems to embody the results of Hennepin's discoveries.

The next edition (Paris, 1688) shows the same pagination, with some verbal changes in the text, and is accompanied by the same map.

COPIES: **BA., CB., HC.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 3; Sabin, no. 31,348; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,354; *Hist. Mag.* vol. ii. p. 346; Harrisse, no. 160; O'Callaghan, *Catalogue*, no. 1,068; Beckford, *Catalogue*, no. 674, bought by Quaritch, who advertised it at £3 3*s*.



[1] An extract from the *Carte de la Nouvelle France et de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte, dediée au Roy l'an* 1683. *Par le Révérend Père Louis Hennepin, Missionaire Recollect et Notaire Apostolique*, belonging to the *Description de la Louisiane*, 1683. There is a full fac-simile in Shea's translation of this book, and another one was made in 1876 by Pilinski, in Paris (36 copies). The letter A near a tree signifies "Armes du Roy telle qu'elle sont gravée sur l'escorce d'un chesne." This map (Harrisse. no. 352) seems to resemble closely a map described by Harrisse (no. 219), as indicating the discoveries of Du Lhut, of which there is a copy in the Barlow Collection.

The following translations may be noted:—

ENGLISH. — Some portions of Hennepin's first work had been translated in Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, pp. 107–145; but no English translation of the whole work appeared till Dr. Shea edited a version in 1880, comparing Hennepin's text with the second publication of that missionary (issued in 1697) with the La Salle documents, published by Margry, and with other contemporaneous papers.

DUTCH. — The engraved title, *Ontdekking van Louisania;* the printed title, *Beschryving van Louisania.* It appeared at Amsterdam in 1688, under the same covers with a Dutch version of Denys' *Coast of North America*, accompanied by a map which is a reduction of the map of the 1683 edition, and is called "Kaart van nieuw Vrankrijk en van Louisania;" together with four plates.

COPIES: **CB., HC., L.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 5; Sabin, no. 31,357; Harrisse, no. 161; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,355, with fac-simile of title; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 24; O'Callaghan, no. 1,069; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 1,433; Muller, *Books on America*, 1870, no. 908, and 1877, no. 1,395.

It is usually priced at from $8 to $10.

GERMAN. — There were two editions, — *Beschreibung der Landschaft Louisiana*, to which was appended a German version of Marquette's and Joliet's exploration, published at Nuremberg in 1689. It should have two maps.

COPIES: **CB., L.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 6; Ternaux, no. 1,041; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,379; O'Callaghan, no. 1,071; Muller, 1877, no. 1,399.

The other German edition of the same title appeared at Nuremberg in 1692.

COPIES: **CB., L.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 7; Harrisse, no. 163; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 24; Sabin, no. 31,364.

ITALIAN. — *Descrizione della Luigiana.* Rendered by Casimiro Freschot, and published at Bologna in 1686, with a map.

COPIES: **CB.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 4; Harrisse, no. 157; Sabin, no. 31,356; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 346; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,326; Ternaux, no. 1,012; Leclerc, no. 900; 60 francs.

An abridgment was printed in *Il Genio Vagante*, Parma, 1691, with a map, "Nuova Francia e Luigiana." Cf. Harrisse, no. 365.

In this earliest work of Hennepin the Mississippi, it will be seen by the map, forms no certain connection with the Gulf of Mexico, but is connected by a dotted line, and there is no claim for explorations further south than the map indicates. Hennepin's later publications have raised doubts as to the good faith of his narrative of discoveries on the Upper Mississippi. Harrisse (no. 150), for instance, says "Cette *Relation* de 1683 n'est en réalité qu'une pâle copie d'un des mémoires de Cavelier de la Salle;" and goes on to deny to Hennepin the priority of giving the name of Louisiana to the country. La Salle and others of his contemporaries threw out insinuations as to his veracity, or at least cautioned others against his tendency to exaggerate. (Cf. Neill, *Writings of Hennepin.*) The publication of an anonymous account of La Salle's whole expedition in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, has enabled Dr. Shea, in his edition of Hennepin, to contest Margry's views of Hennepin's plagiarism, and to compare the two narratives critically; and he comes to the conclusion that probably Hennepin was La Salle's scribe before they parted, and that he certainly contributed directly or indirectly to La Salle's despatches what pertains to Hennepin's subsequent independent exploration, — thus making the borrowing to be on the part of the anonymous writer, who, if he were La Salle, did certainly no more than was becoming in the master of the expedition to combine the narratives of his subordinates. It is Shea's opinion, however, that the Margry document was not written by La Salle, but by some compiler in Paris, who used Hennepin's printed book rather than his notes or manuscript reports. Margry claims that this *Relation officielle de l'enterprise de La Salle, de* 1678 *à* 1681, was compiled by Bernou for presentation to Colbert. Parkman thinks, as opposed to Shea's view, that Hennepin knew of the document, and incorporated many passages from it into his book (*La Salle*, pp. 150, 262). Dr. Shea sided with the detractors of Hennepin in his earlier *Discovery of the Mississippi;* but in this later book he makes fair amends for what he now considers his hasty conclusions then. Cf. further Sparks's *Life of La Salle*, and the *North American Review*, January, 1845. Mr. Parkman's conclusion is that this early book of Hennepin is "comparatively truthful."

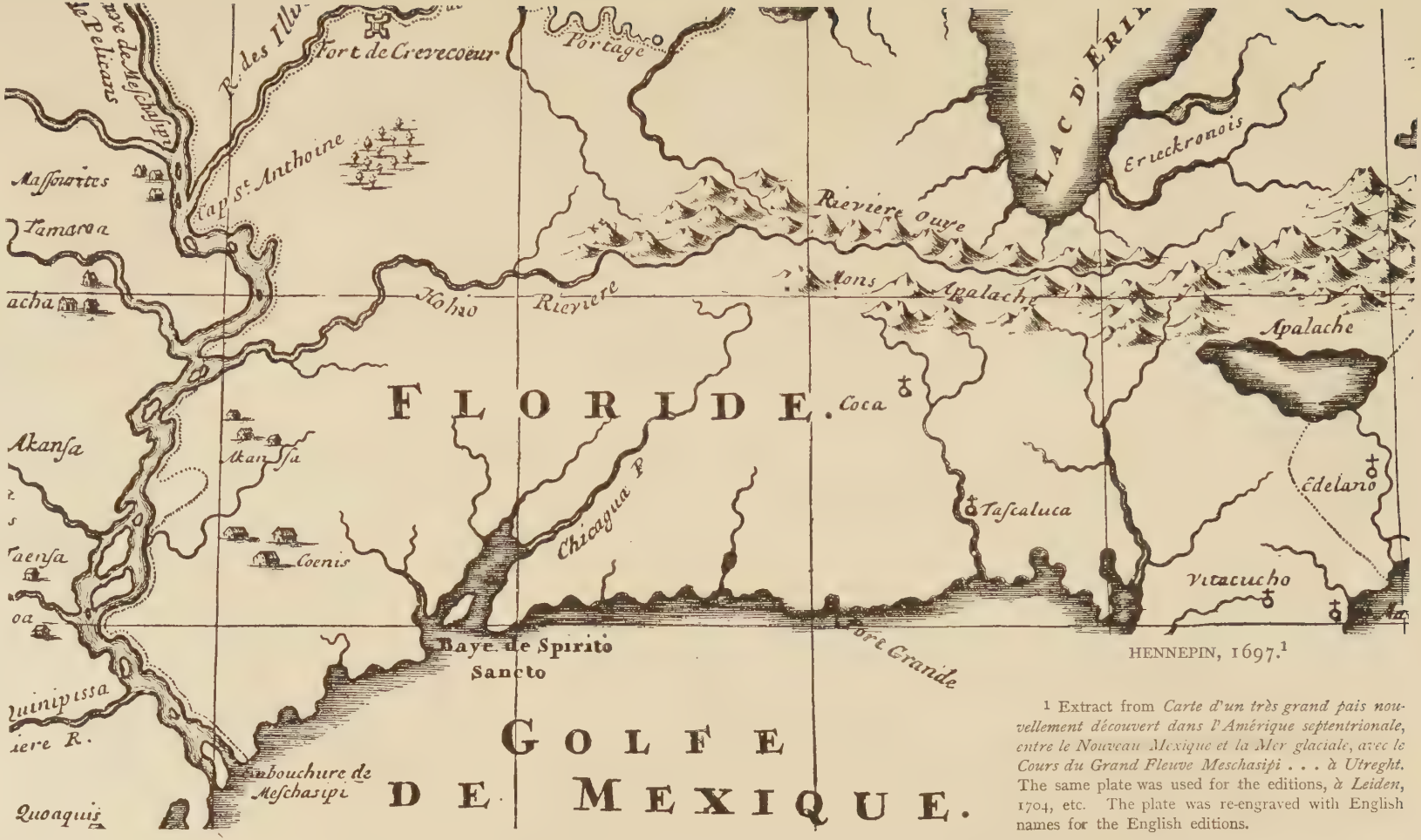
II. NOUVELLE DÉCOUVERTE.

According to Hennepin's own story, some time after his first book was published, he incurred the displeasure of the Provincial of his Order by refusing to return to America, and was in more ways than one so pursued by his superior that in the end he threw himself on the favor of William III. of England, whom he had met at the Hague. Hennepin searched Amsterdam for a publisher of his new venture, but had to take it to Utrecht, where it came out, in 1697, with a fulsome dedication to the English king. It is called in the printed title (the engraved title is abridged): *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très*

HENNEPIN, 1697.[1]

[1] This is an extract from the second of Hennepin's maps, *Carte d'un très grand pays entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer glaciale, dediée à Guillaume III. . . . à Utreght.* The same plate was used in later editions (1698, 1704, 1711, etc.), with additions of many names, and some topographical changes, and alterations of place of publication. Those of 1698 have *à Utreght* in some cases, and in others *à Amsterdam.*

Naquessans
Issati
Ioseph
Changas
Xclon
Lac
Les Assenipoils
Lac Fiscoutagamy
Acoutamiskan
Lac des Ti
Cristinaux
R. Michipicoton
R. St Francois
Saut
Saut de Anthoine le Padoue
R. de Tombeau
R. de Beeufs
Lac de la Providence
Portage
Lac Superieur
Sauteurs
Saut Ste Marie
Lac Nipissing
Saute
Outtoaucets
Missilimakinac
Cantelon
LAC HURON
ou
KAREGNONDI
Lac Pleurs
R. Noire
Les Illinois
Lac de Puans
Hurons
Portage
Kitchiga
Ouisconsing
Riviere
Outagan
Kikapaus
Poutouatamis
Sakinam
Hurons
Saut de Loo
Masko utens
Lac Ste Claire
Illinois
Charbon
Fort
Grands
OU DUCHA



HENNEPIN, 1697.[1]

[1] Extract from *Carte d'un très grand pais nouvellement découvert dans l'Amérique septentrionale, entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer glaciale, avec le Cours du Grand Fleuve Meschasipi . . . à Utreght.* The same plate was used for the editions, *à Leiden*, 1704, etc. The plate was re-engraved with English names for the English editions.

grand Pays, situé dans l'Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer glaciale, Utrecht, 1797, pp. 70, 506, with two maps and two plates, one being the earliest view of Niagara Falls, as given on p. 86.

COPIES: **BA., CB., HC.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 1; Sabin, no. 31,349; Ternaux, no. 1,095; Harrisse, no. 175; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,513; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 346; Beckford, no. 675, bought by Quaritch, and advertised by him at £4 4*s.*; Stevens, vol. i. no. 1,434: Leclerc, no. 902, 80 francs; Harrassowitz, *Catalogue*, 1883, no. 58, 50 marks; Brinley, *Catalogue*, no. 4,491. It is usually priced in English catalogues at two or three guineas.

The portions repeated in this book from the *Description de la Louisiane* are enlarged, and the "Mœurs des Sauvages" is omitted.

It will be observed that in both of the maps of 1697, extracts from which are given herewith, the Mississippi River is marked as continuing its course to the Gulf. This change is made to illustrate an interpolation in the text (pp. 249–312), borrowed from Father Membré's Journal of La Salle's descent of the river, as given in Le Clercq's *Premier Établissement de la Foi*, p. 153. Sparks, in his *Life of La Salle*, was the first to point out this correspondence. Mr. J. H. Perkins, reviewing Sparks's book in the *North American Review* in January, 1839 (reprinted in his *Memoir and Writings*, vol. ii.), on the "Early French Travellers in the West," referring to the partial statements of the distrust of Hennepin in Andrew Ellicott's *Journal*, and in Stoddard's *Sketches of Louisiana*, makes, for the first time, as he thinks, a thorough critical statement of the grounds "for thinking the *Reverend Father* so great a liar." Further elucidation of the supposed theft was made by Dr. Shea in his *Discovery of the Mississippi*, etc., p. 105, where, p. 83, he translated for the first time into English Membré's Journal. The Membré narrative is much the same as a *Relation de la Découverte de l'Embouchure de la Rivière Mississippi, faite par le Sieur de la Salle, l'année passée*, 1682, preserved in the Archives Scientifiques de la Marine, and printed in Thomassy's *Géologie pratique de la Louisiane*. Gravier, p. 180, holds it to be the work of La Salle himself (Boimare, *Text explicatif pour accompagner la première planche historique relative à la Louisiane*, Paris, 1868; cf. Gravier's Appendix, no. viii). That there was a fraud on Hennepin's part has been generally held ever since Sparks made his representations. Bancroft calls Hennepin's journal "a lie." Brodhead calls it an audacious falsehood. Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 226) deems it a fabrication, and has critically examined Hennepin's inconsistencies. Gravier classes his narrative with Gulliver's.

The excuse given in the *Nouvelle Découverte* for the tardy appearance of this Journal is, that fear of the hostility of La Salle having prevented its appearance in the *Description de la Louisiane*, that explorer's death rendered the suppression of it no longer necessary. It is, moreover, proved that passages from Le Clercq are also appropriated in describing the natives and the capture of Quebec in 1628. The reply to this was that Le Clercq stole from a copy of Hennepin's Journal, which had been lent to Le Roux in Quebec. These revelations led Shea seriously to question in his *Mississippi* if Hennepin had ever seen the upper parts of that river, and to suspect that Hennepin may have learned what he wrote from Du Lhut. Harrisse, p. 176, brings forward some new particulars about Hennepin's relations with Du Lhut.

Dr. Shea's later views, as expressed in his English translation (1880) of the *Description de la Louisiane* (1683), is that Hennepin's manuscript or revamped copy of his earlier book, as prepared for the printer by himself, was subjected to the manipulations of an ignorant and treacherous editor, who made these insertions to produce a more salable book, and that Hennepin was not responsible for it in the form in which it appeared. Shea's arguments to prove this opposite of the generally received opinion are based on inherent evidence in the insertions that Hennepin could not have written them, and on the material evidences of these questionable portions of the book having been printed at a later time than the rest of it, and in different type. The only rejoinder yet made to this exculpation is by Mr. E. D. Neill, in a tract on *The Writings of Louis Hennepin*, read before the Minnesota Historical Society in November, 1880, in which the conclusion is reached that "nothing has been discovered to change the verdict of two centuries, that Louis Hennepin, Recollect Franciscan, was deficient in Christian manhood."

The *Nouvelle Découverte* was reset and reissued in 1698 at Amsterdam, with the same maps and a new title.

COPIES: **CB., L.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 2; Sabin, no. 31,350; Harrisse, no. 176; Ternaux, no. 1,110; O'Callaghan, no. 1,073; Muller, 1877, no. 3,666; Sparks, *Catalogue*, no. 1,211; Rich, 1832, 12*s.*; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,538; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. pp. 24, 346.

There was another edition, *Voyage ou Nouvelle Découverte*, at Amsterdam in 1704, with the same maps and additional plates, to which was appended La Borde's *Voyage*.

COPIES: **BA, CB.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 3; Sabin, no. 31,352; Rich, 1830, no. 8; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 347; Beckford, no. 676; Leclerc, no. 905, 60 francs; Stevens, vol. i. no. 1,436; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 52.

The Hague and Leyden editions of the same year (1704) had an engraved title, *Voyage curieux . . . qui contient une Nouvelle Découverte*, but

were evidently from the same type, and also have the La Borde appended.

COPIES: **CB., L., HCM.**
REFERENCES: Shea, nos. 4, 5; Sabin, no. 31,353; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. 25.

The Amsterdam edition of 1711 was called *Voyages curieux et nouveaux de Messieurs Hennepin et de la Borde*, with oblong title, folded in, which seems to be the only difference from the 1704 editions.

COPIES: **BA., CB., HC.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 6; Sabin, no. 31,354; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 153.

In 1712 another Amsterdam edition was called *Voyage ou Nouvelle Découverte.*

COPY: **CB.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 7; Sabin, no 31,355; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 347; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 168: Stevens, vol. i. no. 1,438.

Hennepin's book also appeared in the third edition, at Amsterdam (1737), of Bernard's *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, vol. ix., with a map called "Le Cours du fleuve Mississipi, 1737." Cf. Shea, no. 8; Sabin, no. 4,936; *Historical Magazine*, ii. 25. It also appeared at Amsterdam in 1720, in *Relations de la Louisiane et du Fleuve Mississippi* (Dufossé, 1878, no. 4,577), and again in 1737 in connection with a translation of Garcilasso de la Vega (Dr. O'Callaghan in *Historical Magazine*, ii. 24). An abridgment appeared in Paris, in 1720, under the title, *Description de la Louisiane, par le Chevalier Bonrepos*, pp. 45 (Lenox in *Historical Magazine*, ii. 25).

The following translations may be noted: —

DUTCH. — 1. *Nieuwe Ontdekkinge*, etc., Amsterdam, 1699.

COPY: **CB.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 9; Sabin, no. 31,359; Harrisse, no. 183.

2. *Nieuwe Entdekkinge*, etc., Amsterdam, 1702. It follows the 1697 French edition, with the same maps and plates, and has Capiné's book on the Spanish West Indies appended.

COPIES: **BA., CB., L.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 10; Sabin, no. 31,360; Lenox in *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 25; Muller, 1870, no. 912, and 1877, no. 1,397; Brinley, no. 4,493; O'Callaghan, no. 1,076; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 23.

3. *Aenmerkelyke Voyagie*, etc., Leyden, 1704.

COPY: **CB.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 11; Sabin, no. 31,361; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 53, 54; Stevens, vol. i. no. 1,437; Muller, 1870, no. 913, and 1877, no. 1,398.

4. *Aanmerkkelyke Voyagie*, etc., Rotterdam, 1704. It is usually found with Benzoni's *West-Indise Voyagien*, and also in Van der Aa's Collection of Voyages, 1704.

COPIES: **C., CB., L.**
REFERENCES: Shea, nos. 12, 13; Sabin, no. 31,362; Lenox in *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 25.

5. *Nieuwe Ontdekkinge*, etc. Amsterdam, 1722.

COPY: **CB.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 14; Sabin, no. 31,363.

ENGLISH. — *Discovery of a Large, Rich, and Plentiful Country*, etc., London, 1720.

COPIES: **BA., CB., HC.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 2; Sabin, nos. 20,247, 31,373; *Historical Magazine*, vol. i. p. 347; Rich, no. 12; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 267.

This is an abridgment.

GERMAN. — 1. *Neue Entdeckung*, etc. Bremen, 1699.

COPIES: **CB., L.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 15; *Historical Magazine*, vol. i. p. 347, vol. ii. p. 25; Sabin, no. 31,367; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,572; Harrisse, no. 185; Stevens, vol. i. no. 1,435.

2. *Beschreibung der Grosser Flusse Mississipi. Dritte Auflage*, Leipzig, 1720.

COPY: **L.**
REFERENCES: Lenox in *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 25.

3. *Neue Reise Beschreibung*, etc., Nürnberg, 1739.

COPY: **CB.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 16; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 604.

4. *Neue Entdeckung*, etc., Bremen, 1742.

COPY: **CB.**
REFERENCE: Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 708.

SPANISH. — *Relaçion*, etc., Brusselas, 1699.

COPIES: **HC., CB., L.** An abridgment by Sebastian Fernandez de Medrano.
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 1; Sabin, no. 31,374; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,573; Lenox in *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 25; Ternaux, no. 1,126.

It has the same map with the 1697 French edition, with an Italian label, "Carta geografica de un Pais," etc., pasted over the French title.

III. NOUVEAU VOYAGE.

It has been customary to bestow upon this volume a similar distrust as upon the preceding; but Dr. Shea contends that the luckless treatment of the *Nouvelle Découverte* by a presumptuous editor was also repeated with this. It was entitled, *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*, Utrecht, 1698. The work was made up from Le Clercq, and included the treatise on the Indians which had been omitted in the *Nouvelle Découverte*, of which this volume may be considered the supplement.

COPIES: **BA., CB.**
REFERENCES: Shea, no. 1; Sabin, no. 31,351; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,537; Harrisse, no. 177; Beck-

ford, no. 677, bought by Quaritch, who priced it at £4 4s.; Leclerc, no. 904, 70 francs; Rich, no. 455; Ternaux, no. 1,111.

The *Nouveau Voyage* was also included in an abridged form in the second (1720) and third (1734) editions of the *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, published by Bernard at Amsterdam. Cf. Shea, 2 and 3.

It was also issued in the following translations: —

DUTCH. — Engraved title, *Reyse door nieuwe Ondekte Landen*. Printed title, *Aenmerckelycke Historische Reijs Beschryvinge*, Utrecht, 1698. The map reads, "Carte d'un Nouveau Monde entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer glaciale. Gasp. Bouttals fecit."

COPIES: **BA., CB.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 4; Sabin, no. 31,358; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,539, with fac-simile of title; *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 347; Harrisse, no. 179; Trömel, no. 425; O'Callaghan, no. 1,075; Muller, 1877, no. 1,396.

ENGLISH. — In the *Archæologia Americana*, vol. i.

GERMAN, 1. — *Neue Reise Beschreibung, übersetzt durch M. J. G. Langen*, Bremen, 1698.

COPY: **CB.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 5.; Sabin, no. 31,365; Ternaux, no. 1,049, of doubtful date; Harrisse, no. 165; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,540.

2. *Reisen und seltsehme Begebenheiten*, etc., Bremen, 1742.

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 6; Sabin, no. 31,369.

IV. COMBINATION.

The *Nouvelle Découverte* and the *Nouveau Voyage* were combined in an English translation issued under the following title: *A new Discovery of a Vast Country in America, extending above four thousand miles between New France and New Mexico*, etc., London, 1698. It contains — part i., a translation of the *Nouvelle Découverte;* part ii., in smaller type and new paging, a version of the *Nouveau Voyage;* the rest of the volume in the type of part i. and continuing its paging, being an account of Marquette's voyages. Another edition of the same year shows a slight change of title, with alterations in part i. and part ii. rewritten. Still another issue conforms in title to the earliest, but in body, with a slight correction, to the second edition. The engraved title of the first edition is given herewith. This picture is a re-engraving reversed of the one on the title of the *Nouvelle Découverte* of 1697.

COPIES: **BPL., CB., HC.**

REFERENCES: Shea, nos. 1, 2, 3; Sabin, nos. 31,370, 31,371; Ternaux, nos. 1,010, 1,119; *Historical Magazine*, vol. i. p. 347; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 685; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. nos. 1,535, 1,536; Rich, no. 456; Brinley, no. 4,492; Harrisse, no. 181; *Menzies Catalogue*, no. 915.

In the next year (1699) there was a reprint of the second issue of the preceding year.

COPY: **BA.**

REFERENCES: Shea, no. 4; Sabin, no. 31,372; O'Callaghan, no. 1,074; and *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii p. 74; Menzies, no. 916.

BARON LA HONTAN.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

LA HONTAN, a young Gascon, born about 1667, had come to Canada in 1683, and from being a common soldier, had by his ability risen to an officer's position. He became a favorite of Frontenac, and was selected by him to bear the despatch to Paris which conveyed an account of Phips's failure before Quebec in 1690. He was not long after made deputy-governor of Placentia, where he quarrelled with his superior and fled to France; and here, fearing arrest, he was obliged to escape beyond its boundaries. After the Peace of Ryswick he sought reinstatement, but was not successful; and it is alleged that his book, which he now published, was in some measure the venting of his spleen. It appeared in 1703, at La Haye, as *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale, qui contiennent une Relation des différens Peuples que y habitent*, in two volumes (the second entitled *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale, ou la suite des Voyages*), with twenty-six maps and plates (Sabin, vol. x. nos. 38,635–38,638; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 36; Quaritch, 25 shillings; Leclerc, no. 737, 40 francs). Another edition, in somewhat larger type and better engravings, with a vignette in place of the sphere on the title, appeared the same year. Dr. Shea is inclined to think this the authorized edition, and the other a pirated one, with reversed cuts. La Hontan, being in London, superintended an edition published there the same year in English, called *New Voyages to North America* (in Harvard College Library; cf. *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 101; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 852; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 39), likewise in two volumes, but containing in addition a Dialogue between La Hontan and a Huron Indian (the Rat), which had not been included in the Hague edition, and which was the vehicle of some religious scepticism. There were thirteen plates in vol. i., and eleven in vol. ii., and La Hontan speaks of them as being much better than those of the Holland edition (Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,644). This same Dialogue was issued separately the next year (1704) at Amsterdam in French, — *Dialogue du Baron de La Hontan et d'un Sauvage dans l'Amérique;* and also, with a changed title (*Supplément aux Voyages du Baron La Hontan*), as the third volume or "suite" of the *Voyages*, and sometimes with added pages devoted to travels in Portugal and Denmark (Sabin, vol. x. nos. 38,633, 38,634, 38,637; Field, no. 853; Leclerc, nos. 738, 739; Muller, *Books on America*, 1872, no. 864). These editions are found with the dates also of 1704 and 1705. What is called a "seconde Édition, revue, corrigée, et augmentée," with twenty-seven plates (but not from the same coppers, however, with the earlier issues), and omitting the "Carte générale," appeared likewise at La Haye in 1705 and 1706. This is professedly "almost recast, to make the style more pure, concise, and simple, with the Dialogues rewritten." The Denmark and Portugal voyage being omitted, it is brought within two volumes, the second of which is still called *Mémoires*, etc. (Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 68). There were later French editions in 1707, 1709, and 1715, and at Amsterdam in 1721, with the "suite," dated 1728, three volumes in all, and sometimes all three are dated 1728; and still other editions are dated 1731 and 1741 (Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,640, who says it is quite impossible to make a clear statement of all the varieties of these several editions; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 689). The English version appeared again at London in 1735 (Menzies, no. 1,178; Brinley, no. 101; Sabin, vol. x. nos. 38,645, 38,646, who says there are various imprints; and it is also included in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. xiii.). There are also a German edition, *Des beruhmten Herrn Baron de La Hontan Neueste Reisen*, 1709 (Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,647; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 123; Stevens, *Bibl. Hist.*, no. 2,505), and a Dutch, *Reizen van den Baron van La Hontan*, 1739 (Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,648; Stevens, no. 2,506).

The book is thought to have been edited by Nicolas Gueudeville; or at least his hand is usually recognized in the customary third

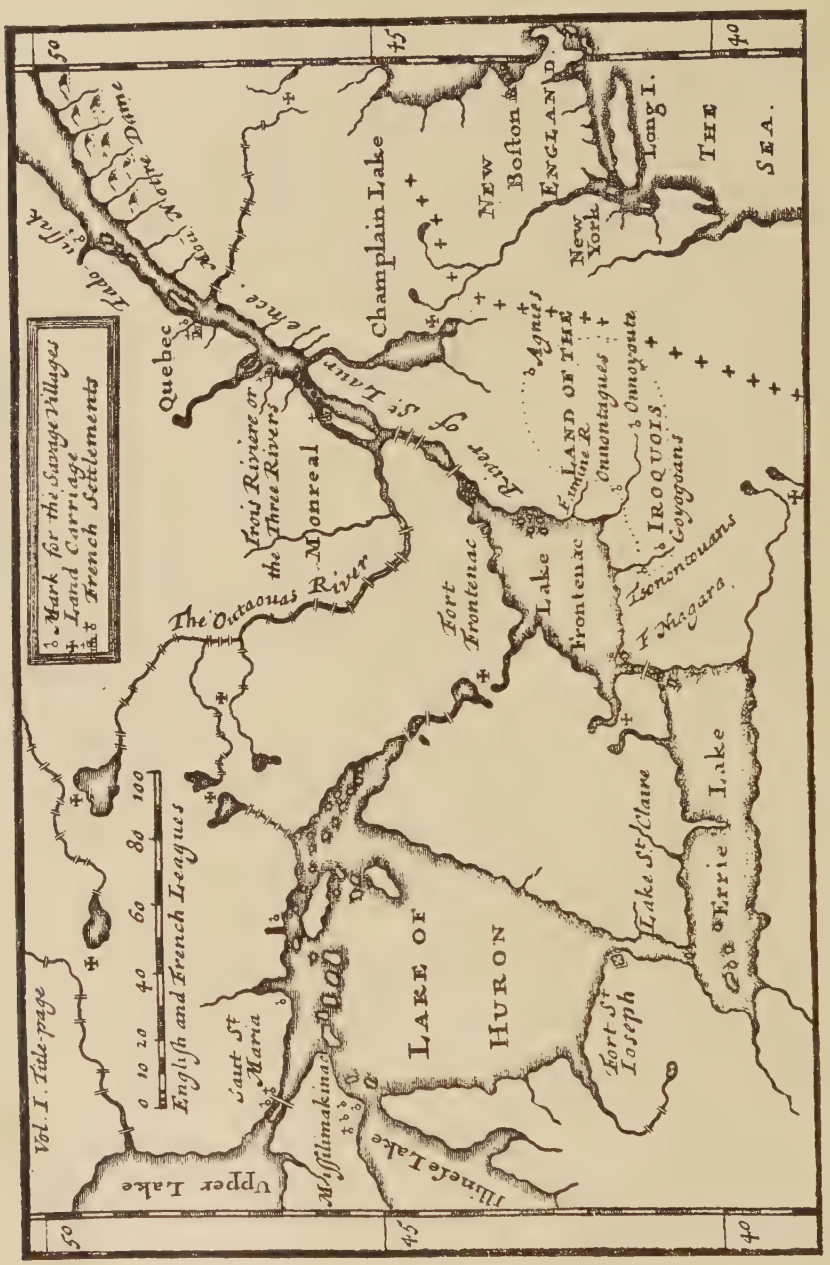
PART OF LA HONTAN'S MAP.[1]

[1] This is the western part of the *Carte Générale de Canada*, which appeared in the *Nouveaux Voyages*, La Haye, 1709, vol. ii., and was re-engraved in his *Mémoires*, Amsterdam, 1741, vol. iii.

PART OF LA HONTAN'S MAP.[1]

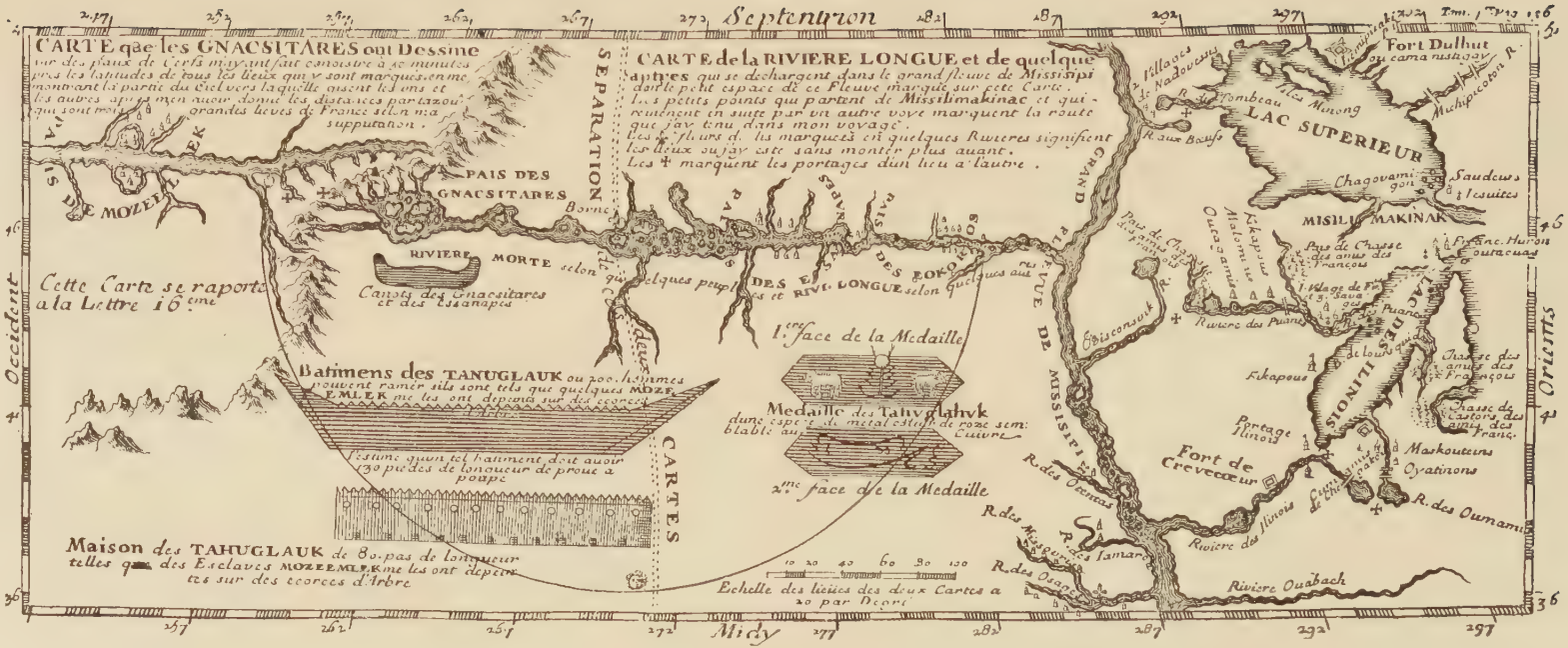
1 A middle section from his "Carte Générale de Canada," in his *Nouveaux Voyages*, La Haye, 1709, vol. ii.; re-engraved in the Amsterdam, 1741, edition of the *Mémoires*, vol. iii.

volume of some of the editions. Faribault (p. 76) says that a bookseller in Amsterdam knew that the Dialogue was added by Gueudeville, in whose *Atlas*, Amsterdam, 1719, as well as in Corneille's *Geographical Dictionary*, the accounts given of La Hontan's Rivière Longue are incorporated. As early as 1715–1716 there was a general discrediting of the story of La Hontan, as



LA HONTAN'S MAP.[1]

1 A fac-simile of the frontispiece to La Hontan's *New Voyages*, London, 1703. It was less carefully drawn in the re-engraving of smaller size for the *Mémoires de l'Amérique*, vol. ii., Amsterdam; and still another plate of the same map will be found in the 1709 and 1715 La Haye editions.



LA HONTAN'S RIVIERE LONGUE.[1]

[1] Fac-simile of the map in the *Nouveaux Voyages*, La Haye, 1709, i. 136. He reports that the river was called by some the Dead River, because of its sluggish current.

will be seen by letters addressed by Bobé to De l'Isle, the French geographer, and printed in the *Historical Magazine*, iii. 231, 232; but the English geographer, Herman Moll, in his maps between 1710 and 1720, was under La Hontan's influence. Another English cartographer, John Senex (1710), accepted the La Hontan story with considerable hesitation, and later rejected it. Daniel Coxe, in his *Carolana* (1727), quite unreservedly accepted it; and the Long River appears as Moingona in Popple's *Atlas*, in 1733.

The German geographer, Homann, of Nuremberg, was in some degree influenced; and the French cartographer De l'Isle sometimes accepted these alleged discoveries, and again discarded them; but the careful work of Bellin, in Charlevoix's *Nouvelle France*, did much to relegate La Hontan to oblivion. Charlevoix himself says: "The great liberty which La Hontan gives his pen has contributed greatly to make his book read by people not informed to separate truth from falsehood. It fails to teach the well-informed, and confuses others. The episode of the voyage up the Long River is as fabulous as the Barataria of Sancho Panza." (Cf. Shea's ed., i. 86, with Shea's note, iii. 286.) The Long River some years later, however, figured in the map which illustrates Samuel Engel's *Extraits raisonnés des Voyages faits dans les parties septentrionales*, published at Lausanne, and again in 1765, and again in 1779, and of which there is also a German translation. At a later date Carver accepted the accounts of this western river as genuine, and identified it with the St. Peter's, — a belief which Long again, in his *Expedition to St. Peter's River*, wholly rejected. (Cf. also J. H. Perkins in the *North American Review* (1839), vol. xlviii. no. 98, where it is thought possible; and the paper by H. Scadding in the *Canadian Journal*, 2d series, vol. xiii. pp. 240, 396.) Parkman expresses the present view of scholars when he says (*La Salle*, p. 458) that La Hontan's account of the Long River is a sheer fabrication; but he did not, like Hennepin, add slander and plagiarism to mendacity. Again, in his *Frontenac* (p. 105), he calls La Hontan "a man in advance of his time, for he had the caustic, sceptical, and mocking spirit which a century later marked the approach of the great Revolution. He usually told the truth when he had no motive to do otherwise, and yet was capable at times of prodigious mendacity," for his account of what "he *saw* in the colony is commonly in accord with the best contemporary evidence." There are some exceptions to this view. Gravier speaks of La Hontan as "de bonne foi et de jugement sain"?

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CHAPTER VI.

THE JESUITS, RECOLLECTS, AND THE INDIANS.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.

AT the time of the discovery of this portion of the northern continent, the missionary spirit was active in the Catholic Church. The labors of the earlier monks had been revived and continued in the East by the new zeal of the orders of friars, especially of the Franciscan and Dominican Fathers. The earlier voyages of explorations from Cabot's day were accompanied by priests; and as soon as the condition and character of the inhabitants were known, projects were formed for their conversion. This work was looked upon as a duty by the kings of Spain, Portugal, and France, as well as by the hierarchy and religious orders. Coeval with the Spanish and French attempts to settle on the coast, were missionary efforts, often pushed with wonderful zeal and courage far into the interior by intrepid apostles, who, trusting their lives to Indian guides, sought fields of labor.

The mission lines on the map meet and cross, as, undeterred by the death of pioneers, others took up the task. In 1526, Dominicans reared a chapel on the banks of the James in Virginia; in 1539, the Italian Franciscan Mark, from Nice, penetrated to New Mexico; and soon after, Father Padilla, of the same order, died by the hands of the Indians near the waters of the Missouri. By 1559 Dominicans were traversing the territories of the Mobilian tribes from Pensacola to the Mississippi; and when Melendez founded St. Augustine, it became a mission centre whence the Jesuit missionaries threaded the Atlantic coast to Chesapeake Bay and the banks of the Rappahannock, before they left that field to the Franciscans, who dotted Florida and Georgia with their mission chapels.

The same spirit was seen pervading France, where the conversion of the Indians of the New World was regarded as a duty of the highest order. One of the first traces that we find of French voyages to the northern coast is the mention in an early edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius, in 1508, that Indians who had been brought from the new-found land received baptism within the walls of a cathedral in France.

Though the introduction of Calvinism led to the destruction of many a convent and shrine, and thinned by death the ranks of the mission orders,

the zeal for the conversion of the Indians survived the wars of religion. Soon after Poutrincourt began his settlement in Acadia, it was made a reproach to him that nothing had been done for the conversion of the natives. He addressed a letter to the Pope, as if to put the fact of his orthodoxy beyond all question; and when it was proposed to send out Jesuit missionaries to labor among the Indians, he caused twenty-five of the natives to be baptized in token of his zeal for their spiritual welfare.

The establishment of a Jesuit mission was, however, decided upon. On the 12th of June, 1611, Fathers Peter Biard and Enemond Masse reached Port Royal. Some difficulties had been thrown in their way, and others met them in the petty settlement. They turned at once to study the Micmac language, so as to begin their mission labors among that nation of Algonquins. The aged Membertou, who had acquired some French, was their interpreter and first convert. Biard visited all the coast as far as the Kennebec, and tried to give some ideas of Christianity to the Abenakis on that river. Finding that little could be done at Port Royal, where the settlers hampered rather than aided their efforts, the Jesuits projected an independent mission settlement elsewhere. Their protector, Madame de Guercheville, obtained from the French king a grant of all the coast from the St. Lawrence to Florida. A vessel was sent out, the missionaries were taken on board, and a settlement was begun on Mount Desert Island. There a cross was planted, and Mass said at a rustic altar. But the Jesuits were not to carry out their mission projects. English vessels under Argall, from Virginia, attacked the ship and settlement of St. Savior; a Jesuit lay-brother was killed; the rest of the settlers were sent to France or carried prisoners to Virginia. Thus ended the first Jesuit mission begun under French auspices.[1]

Meanwhile Champlain had succeeded in establishing a settlement on the St. Lawrence, and had penetrated to Lake Champlain and the rapids of the Ottawa. On all sides were tribes "living like brute beasts, without law, without religion, without God." His religious zeal was quickened; for Quebec itself was destitute of ministers of religion. The Recollects, a reformed branch of the Franciscan order, were invited to enter the field. They accepted the mission, and in May, 1615, four of the Gray Friars landed at Quebec. Father John Dolbeau at once began a mission among the Montagnais, — the tribe occupying that portion of the St. Lawrence valley, — and wintered with them in their wandering hunter life, enduring all its hardships, and learning their language and ideas. The friendly Wyandots, from the shores of a far distant lake, were the tribe assigned to Father Joseph le Caron, and to the palisaded towns of this more civilized race he boldly ventured, without waiting for Champlain. In the summer of 1615 he set up his altar in a new bark lodge in the Huron town of Caragouha, near Thunder Bay, and began to learn a new strange tongue, so as to teach the flock around him.

[1] [See chapter iv. — Ed.]

The Recollects had thus undertaken to evangelize two races, who, with their kindred, extended from the ocean to the Mississippi, from the Chesapeake and Ohio to the frozen lands of the Esquimaux. Their languages, differing from all known to European scholars in vocabulary, forms, and the construction of sentences, offered incredible difficulties. The ideas these Indians held of a future state were so obscure, that it was not easy to find enough of natural religion by which to lead them to the revealed. Progress was naturally slow, — there was more to discourage than to cheer. Still the Franciscans labored on; and though their number was limited to six, they had in 1625 five missions at Tadousac, Quebec, Three Rivers, among the Nipissings, and in the Huron country.

Finding that the mission field in New France required an order bound to less scrupulous poverty than their own, the Recollects of Paris invited the Jesuits to aid them. Enemond Masse, of the unfortunate Acadian mission, with Charles Lalemant and John de Brebeuf, came over in 1625. The old opposition to the order was renewed. The Jesuits were homeless, till the Recollects opened the doors of their convent to them. Commanding resources from influential friends, they soon began to build, and brought over men to swell the settlement and cultivate the ground. They joined the Recollects in the missions already founded, profiting by their experience. This enabled the Church to extend its missions. Father Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, leaving the Hurons, struck southwesterly, and founded a mission among the Neutral Nation, apparently on the eastern bank of the Niagara, and urged his countrymen to open direct communication by way of Lake Ontario with that fertile part of the country.

The little colony at Quebec was, however, on the verge of starvation; and after once baffling the English, Champlain surrendered in 1629, and the missions of the Recollects and Jesuits came to a close. A mere handful of converts was all the reward of their long and zealous labors, and these they were compelled to leave exposed to the danger of lapsing back into their original heathendom.

We cannot trace very distinctly the system adopted by the Recollects and their Jesuit auxiliaries during this first period of mission labor in Canada. Their usual course was to remain during the pleasant months at the French posts, — Quebec, Three Rivers, and Tadousac, — attending to the spiritual wants of the French and of the Indians who encamped near by for trade, and then to follow an Indian band on its winter hunt. The Recollects spoke despondingly. Some young men were taken to France and instructed there, — one, Peter Anthony, having the Prince de Guimené as his sponsor in baptism. But they found it almost impossible to keep the young for any prolonged instruction, and they hesitated to baptize adults, except in case of danger of death.

In the Huron country Father Nicholas Viel succeeded Le Caron, and had his little chapel at Quieunonascaran, cultivating a small patch of ground

around his bark lodge. His success does not seem to have exceeded that of his fellow religious in the more nomadic tribes. While on his way to Quebec in 1625 he was treacherously hurled from his canoe by a Huron guide, and perished in the rapid waters near Montreal that still bear the name of *Sault au Récollet*.

Another Recollect, Father William Poullain, while on his way with some Frenchmen from Quebec to Sault St. Louis, fell into the hands of the Iroquois, who were about to torture him at the stake, when he was saved by an offer of an exchange made by his countrymen.

The Jesuits adopted the system of the Recollects, but we have no details of their labors, — one Huron boy taken to France, where he was baptized by the name of Louis de Sainte Foy, being the result of the joint labors to which most allusion is made.

The Court of France seems to have considered that both Recollect and Jesuit had failed to acquire the languages of the country sufficiently to do the work of God and of his most Christian Majesty. At all events, each order hastened to put in print evidence of its proficiency in American linguistics. The Recollect Sagard published a Huron Dictionary; the Jesuit Brebeuf, a translation of Ledesma's Catechism into Huron, with the Lord's Prayer and other devotions rendered into Montagnais by Father Enemond Masse.[1]

When England reluctantly yielded up her Canadian conquest, the all-powerful Cardinal Richelieu seems to have looked with no kindly eye on either of the bodies who had already labored to evangelize New France. He offered the mission to his favorite order, the Capuchins, and only when they declined it did he permit the Jesuits to return.

With the restoration of Canada to France by the treaty of Saint Germain in 1632, the history of the great Jesuit missions begins. For some years the Fathers of the Society of Jesus were, almost without exception, the only clergy in the colony in charge of all the churches of the settlers and the missions to the Indian tribes. When a pious association, under the inspiration of the Venerable Mr. Olier, founded Montreal, members of the Society of Priests which he had formed at Saint Sulpice became the clergy of that town; and they gathered near it a double-tongued Indian mission, which still continues to exist under their care. They made no attempt to extend their labors, except in the missionary voyage of Dollier de Casson and Galinée

[1] This was not the only missionary labor in New France during the period already noticed. In 1619 some Recollect Fathers of the province of Aquitaine in France, at the instance of a fishing company which had establishments on the Acadian coast, came over to minister to the French and labor among the Indians. Their field of labor included Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Gaspé; but of the results of their attempts to instil an idea of Christianity into the minds of the Micmacs, we can give no details. One of their number, Father Sebastian, perished in the woods in 1623, while on his way from his post at Miscou to the chief mission station on St. John's River. Three surviving Fathers joined the Recollects at Quebec in 1624 by order of their provincial in France, and took part in their ministry till Kirk arrived.

in the mission of the Abbés Fénelon and Trouvé at Quinté Bay, and the later labors of the Abbé Picquet at Ogdensburg.

When Bishop Laval was appointed for Canada in 1658, he founded a seminary at Quebec, which was aggregated to the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris. The Jesuits then resigned all the parishes which they had directed in the colony, and confined themselves to their college and their Indian missions. The priests of the Seminary of Quebec, beside their parish work, also undertook missions among the Indians in Acadia, Illinois, and on the lower Mississippi.

A collision between the Governor of Canada and the Bishop with his clergy and the Jesuits, in regard to the sale of liquor to the Indians, led the Government to send back the Recollects to resume their early labors. They did not, however, undertake any important missions among the Indian tribes. Their efforts were confined almost exclusively to the period and course of La Salle's attempts at settlement and exploration, and to a mission at Gaspé and a shorter one on the Penobscot.

When the colony of Louisiana took form, the Indian missions there were confided to the Jesuits, who directed them till the suppression of the order terminated their existence in the dominions of France. Spain, in her colonies, sent other orders to continue the work of the Jesuits, and this was done successfully in some places; but there was no effort made to sustain those of the Jesuits in Canada and Louisiana, and amid the political changes which rapidly ensued the early French missions gradually dwindled away.

These Jesuit missions embraced the labors of the Fathers among the Micmacs, chiefly on Cape Breton Island and at Miscou; the missions among the Montagnais, Bersiamites, Oumamiwek, Porcupine Indians, Papinachois, and other tribes of the lower St. Lawrence and Saguenay, the centre being at Tadousac; the missions of which Quebec was the immediate centre, comprising the work among the Montagnais of that district and Algonquins from the west. Of this Algonquin mission, Sillery soon became the main mission; but as the Algonquins disappeared, Abenakis came to settle there, and remained till the chapel was removed to St. François de Sales. Then Three Rivers was a mission station for the Indians near it, and for the Attikamegues inland, till a separate mission was established for that tribe. Beyond Montreal was the mission to the Nipissings, and the great Huron mission, the scene of the most arduous and continued labors of the Fathers among the palisaded towns of the Wyandots and Dinondadies. After the ruin of these nations, the Jesuits led one part of the survivors to Isle Orleans, and subsequently gathered a remnant of them at Lorette, where their descendants still remain. The rest fled towards the Mississippi, and were zealously followed by the energetic missionaries, who gathered them at Mackinac, whence they removed in time to Detroit, and ultimately to Sandusky, the last point where the Jesuits ministered to them.

Beyond Lake Huron was the great Ottawa mission, embracing the attempts to christianize the Ottawas on Lake Superior, the Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie, the Beaver Indians and Crees; at Green Bay was another post for the Menomonees, Pottawatamies, Foxes, and Mascoutens; while south of Lake Michigan came in time Jesuit labors among the Miamis and Illinois. The missions attempted among the Sioux beyond the Mississippi mark the western limit of the old Jesuit efforts to convert the native tribes.

With the establishment of Louisiana came the missions of the Society among the Yazoos, Arkansas, Choctaws, Alibamons, and other tribes.

THE MICMAC MISSION.—The Jesuit missions among the Micmacs never attained any remarkable development, and most of the territory occupied by this branch of the Algonquin family was attended by other bodies of missionaries. Father Julian Perrault began his labors on Cape Breton in 1634; Charles Turgis, with others, was at Miscou in the following years. Most of the Jesuits, however, were compelled to withdraw with shattered health; and Turgis, devoting himself to the care of the sick, died at his post in 1637. Father John Dolebeau became paralyzed, and while returning to France was blown up at sea. At last, however, Father Andrew Richard and Martin de Lyonne succeeded in founding a mission; they learned the language, and extended their labors to Chaleurs Bay, Ile Percée, Miramichi, and Chédabuctou, finding one old woman who had been baptized by Biard at Port Royal. Lyonne died, devotedly attending the sick, in 1661; Richard continued his labors some years later, aided for a time by James Fremin, and cheered by visits from his superior, Jerome Lalemant. They made some converts, although they did not banish the old superstitions and savagery of the tribe; but when Bishop Laval visited Gaspé in 1659, the missionaries presented one hundred and forty Indian Christians for confirmation.

Jacobus Fremin S.J.

When Richard's labors ceased, the Recollects took charge of the mission at Isle Percée, where French and Indians were attended from about 1673 by Fathers Hilarion Guesnin and Exuperius Dethune. They were succeeded in 1675 by Father Christian Le Clercq, who took up the Indian mission with zeal, and has left ineffaceable traces of his twelve years' labor. He acquired the Micmac language; and finding that some Indians, to aid their memory in retaining his instructions, employed a system of hieroglyphics on bits of bark, he studied and improved it, till he had the daily prayers, mass, and catechism in this form. The Indians readily adopted these hieroglyphics, and taught them to their children and later converts. They have been retained in use till the present, and the Rev. Christian Kauder, a Redemptorist, had type cut in Austria, and published a catechism, hymn and prayer book, in them at Vienna in 1866. In 1685 land was given to the priests of the Seminary of Quebec; gentlemen of that

body, with some Recollects and occasionally a Jesuit Father, served the coast from Gaspé to Nova Scotia, and all the Micmacs became Catholics. They seem to have been attended with the French, and not as a distinct mission. The Micmac territory included not only the coast, but Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Of these missionaries, Messrs. Thury and Gaulin and the Recollect Felix Pain seem to have been the most prominent. The Abbé Anthony S. Maillard, who was missionary to the Micmacs in Cape Breton and Acadia till his death in 1768, exercised great influence; and his mastery of the language is shown in his Grammar of the Micmac, which was printed at New York in 1864.

THE MONTAGNAIS MISSION. — Tadousac was from the commencement of French settlement on the St. Lawrence an anchoring-place for vessels and a trading-station which attracted Indians from the west and north. Missionaries made visits to the spot from an early period, but the Jesuit mission there is regarded as having been founded in 1640. It received charitable aid from the Duchess d'Aiguillon, who maintained for a time the Fathers employed there. Father John de Quen may be said to have established the first permanent mission, from which gradually extended efforts for christianizing the tribes on the shores down to Labrador and on the upper waters of the Saguenay.

The first mission was the result of the effort of Charles Meiachkwat, a Montagnais who had visited Sillery and induced the Jesuit Fathers to send one of their number to Tadousac. Charles erected the first chapel; and may be regarded as the first native Christian of that district, and first native catechist, for he visited neighboring tribes to impart what religious knowledge he had learned.

The missionaries encountered the usual difficulties, — great laxity of morals, a deep-rooted belief in dreams, the influence of the medicine-men, and vices introduced by the traders, especially intoxication. Father Buteux, who replaced De Quen for a time, seems to have been the first to give his neophytes the kind of calendar still in use among the wandering Indians, with spaces for each day, to be marked off as it came, and Sundays and holidays so designated by symbols that they could recognize and observe them.

The missionaries at first went down from Quebec in the spring, and continued their labors till autumn, when the Indians scattered for the winter hunt; but as the neophytes felt the want of a regular ministry during the winter, they attempted, in 1645, to supply it by performing some of the priestly functions themselves. This led to fuller instruction; and to impress them, the missionaries left marked pieces of wood of different colors, called *massinahigan*, a word still in use in all the Catholic missions among Algonquin nations for a book of prayers.

In 1646 De Quen ascended the Saguenay, and penetrated, by way of the Chicoutimi, to Lake St. John, in order to preach to the Porcupine tribe, who

had already erected a cross in their village. Three years later, Father Gabriel Druillettes visited the same tribe and reared his bark chapel among them. In 1651 De Quen made another missionary excursion, reaching various villages on the lake, and subsequently, returning to Tadousac, sailed down the St. Lawrence till he reached bands of the Oumamiwek or Bersiamites, among whom he began mission work.

The mission of the Holy Cross at Tadousac was, however, the scene of the most assiduous labors, as often a thousand Indians of different tribes would be encamped there; and though nothing could be done to check the errant life of these Algonquins, ideas of Christian morality and faith were inculcated, and much reformation was effected. In 1660 Father Jerome Lalemant, superior of the missions, continued the labors of his predecessors on Lake St. John, and ascending the Mistassini, reached Nekouba, then a gathering-place for the Algonquin tribes of the interior. Here they hoped to reach several nations who had never seen a missionary, and especially the Ecureuil, or Squirrel tribe; but the Iroquois war-parties had penetrated farther than missionary zeal, and the Jesuits found the Algonquins of these remote cantons fleeing in all directions after sustaining a series of defeats from the fierce men-hunters from the Mohawk and Oswego. The great aim was to reach the Crees, but that nation was subsequently approached by way of the great lakes, when the route in that direction was opened by Menard.

Bailloquet and Nouvel wintered in successive years with bands of Montagnais, travelling in snow-shoes, and drawing their chapel requisites on a sled, as they followed the hunters, pitching their tents on encountering other parties, to enable them to fulfil their religious duties. Then, in the spring of 1664, while Druillettes visited the tribes on the upper waters of the Saguenay, Nouvel ascended the Manicouagan to the lake of that name in the country of the Papinachois, a part yet untrodden by the foot of the white man. Some of the tribe were already Christians, converted at the mission posts; but to most the missionary was an object of wonder, and his rude chapel a never-ceasing marvel to them and to a more northerly tribe, the Ouchestigouetch, who soon came to camp beside the mission cross.

Nouvel cultivated this tribe for several years, wintering among them, or pursuing them in their scattered cabins, till the spring of 1667, when all the Christians of these Montagnais bands gathered at Tadousac to meet Bishop Laval, who, visiting his diocese in his bark canoe, was coming to confer on those deemed sufficiently grounded in the faith the sacrament of confirmation. He reached Tadousac on the 24th of June, and was welcomed by four hundred Christian Indians, who escorted him to the temporary bark chapel, for the church had been totally destroyed by fire. The bishop confirmed one hundred and forty-nine.

Beaulieu, Albanel, and Druillettes labored there in the following years;

but small-pox and other diseases, with want caused by the Iroquois driving them from their hunting-grounds, had reduced the Indians, so that, as Albanel states, in 1670 Tadousac was almost deserted, — not more than one hundred Indians assembled there, whereas he remembered the time when one could count a thousand or twelve hundred encamped at the post at once; and of this petty band some were Micmacs from Gaspé, and Algonquins from Sillery.

In 1671, while Father de Crépieul remained in charge of the missions near Tadousac, with which he was for years identified, Albanel, with the Sieur Denys de St. Simon, ascended the Saguenay, and wintering near Lake St. John pushed on by Lake and River Nemiskau, till they reached the shores of Hudson's Bay, where the Jesuit planted his cross and began a mission. On his way to revisit it in 1674, he was crippled by an accident, and Albanel found him helpless in mid-winter in the woods near Lake St. John. Crépieul then visited the Papinachois in their country, as Father Louis Nicolas did the Oumamis at the Seven Islands. Boucher, a few years later, aided Crépieul, and from their chapels at Chicoutimi and Metabetchouan as centres, missionary excursions were made in all directions.

Dalmas, a later auxiliary of Crépieul, after wintering at Chicoutimi, was killed in the spring of 1694 on the shores of Hudson's Bay.

De Crépieul clung to his arduous mission till 1702, when, broken by his long and severe labors, he retired to Quebec, where he died soon after.

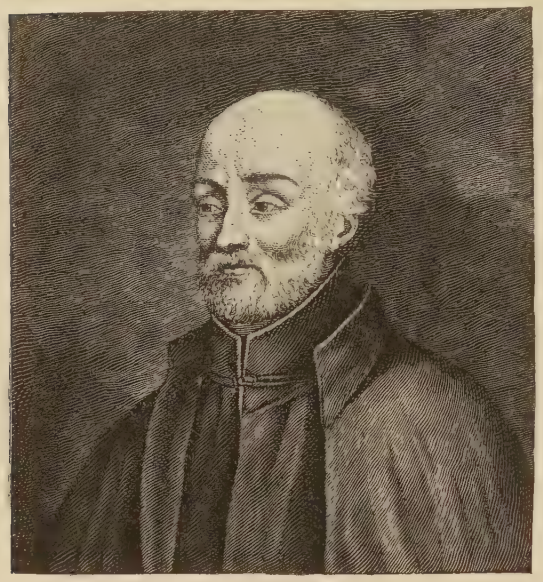
Peter Michael Laure, who occupied the same field from 1720 to 1737, drew up a Montagnais grammar and dictionary, greatly aided, as his manuscript tells us, by the pious Mary Outchiwanich.

Father John Baptist La Crosse was the last of the old Jesuit missionaries at Tadousac and Chicoutimi, dying at the former post in 1782, after the suppression of his order and the disasters of his countrymen. He taught many of his flock to read and write, and they handed down the knowledge from parent to child, clinging to the religious books and Bible selections made for them by this missionary, of whom they still recount wonderful works.

THE MISSIONS AT QUEBEC, THREE RIVERS, AND SILLERY. — The Jesuit missionaries on returning to Canada in 1632 resumed the instruction of the wandering Montagnais near Quebec, Father Le Jeune taking the lead; and when a post was established at Three Rivers, Father Buteux began there the devoted labors which ended only with his life. The missionaries during the time of trade when Indians gathered at the French posts endeavored to gain their good-will, and instructed all who evinced any good disposition; during the rest

of the year they made visits to wandering bands, often wintering with them, sharing the dangers and privations of their hunting expeditions amid mountains, rapids, and forests.

It was soon evident that their precarious mode of life, the rapid diminution of game when they began to kill the animals for their furs and not merely for food, small-pox and other diseases introduced by the French, and the slaughters committed by the Iroquois, would soon sweep away the Upper Montagnais, unless they could be made sedentary. A few endeavored to settle near the French and maintain themselves by agriculture, but in 1637 the missionaries began a kind of reduction at a place above Quebec called at first St. Joseph, but soon known as Sillery, from the name of the pious and benevolent Commander de Sillery in France, who gave means for the good work. Two families, comprising twenty souls in all, settled here, in houses built for them, and began to cultivate the ground. Others soon joined them, and plots were allotted to the several families. Of this settlement Noel Negabamat may be regarded as the founder. Though Sillery was ravaged by disease, which soon broke out in the cabins, the project seemed full of promise; the Indians elected chiefs, and a form of government was adopted. The nuns sent out in 1639 to found a hospital, for which the Duchesse d'Aiguillon gave the necessary means, aided the missionaries greatly. From the day they landed, these self-sacrificing nuns opened wards for the reception of sick Indians, and they decided to establish their hospital at Sillery. They carried out this resolution, and opened it on the first of December, 1640, receiving both French and Indian patients. Their services impressed the natives more deeply than did the educational efforts of the Jesuit Fathers and of the Ursuline nuns, who had schools for Indian children of various tribes at Quebec.



PAUL LE JEUNE.[1]

This mission was an object of especial care, and great hopes were entertained of its effecting much in civilizing and converting the Montagnais and Algonquins, both of which nations were represented in the first settlers at St. Joseph's. These Indians were induced to cultivate the ground, but they

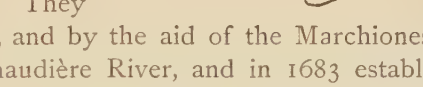
[1] From a photograph (lent by Mr. Parkman) of an old print.

still depended on their fishing, and the winter hunt carried them off to the woods. This the missionaries could not prevent, as the hunts supplied the furs for the trade of the company which controlled Canada.

The hopes of the Jesuits were not to be realized. Some progress was made, and converts like Noel Negabamat and Charles Meiachkwat exercised great influence; but the Iroquois war-parties soon drove the new agriculturists from their fields, the nuns removed their hospital to Quebec in 1646, and the neophytes were scattered. "We behold ourselves dying, exterminated every day," wrote Negabamat in 1651. Some years after, an accidental fire destroyed St. Michael's church with the mission house, and from that time the Indian settlement at Sillery languished. Disease and excess aided the work of war, and the Algonquins and Montagnais dwindled away.

As early as 1643 some Abenakis from the banks of the Kennebec had visited Sillery, and one chief was baptized. Father Druillettes soon after visited their towns, and founded a mission in their country. This was at first continued, but the Christians of the tribe and those seeking instruction visited Sillery from time to time. This was especially the case after 1657, when the Jesuits suspended their labors in Maine, for fear of giving umbrage to the Capuchin Fathers who had missions on the coast.

Sillery revived as an Abenaki mission, but the soil at last proved unfit for longer cultivation by Indians. By this time, Fathers James and Vincent Bigot had been assigned to this tribe. They looked out for a new mission site, and by the aid of the Marchioness de Bauche bought a tract on the Chaudière River, and in 1683 established near the beautiful falls the mission of St. Francis de Sales. Sillery was abandoned, and there was nothing to mark the famous old mission site, till a monument was erected a few years ago to the memory of Masse and De Noue, who lie there.



With the chapel of St. Francis as a base, a new series of missions gradually spread into Maine. The Jesuits resumed their ministry on the banks of the Kennebec; the Bigots, followed by Rale, Lauverjeat, Loyard, and Sirenne, keeping up their work amid great danger, their presence exciting the most fearful animosity in the minds of New Englanders, who ascribed all Indian hostilities to them. Rale was especially marked out. Though a man of cultivation and a scholar, — his Abenaki dictionary being a monument of his mastery of the language, — a price was set on his head, his chapel was pillaged by one expedition, which carried off his manuscript dictionary[1] (now one of the curiosities in

[1] [It was printed in 1833, in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy. His strong box, captured at the same time, was for a while (1845—1855) in the keeping of the Massachusetts Historical Society (*Proceedings*, ii. 322; iii. 40). Pickering, who edited the dictionary when

Harvard College Library), and in a later expedition he was slain at the foot of his mission cross, August 23, 1724. He knew his danger, and his superior would have withdrawn him, but the Canadian authorities insisted on his remaining.

Besides this Jesuit mission at Norridgewock, the priests of the seminary at Quebec, anxious to do their part in the mission-work of which their parent institution, the Seminary of the Foreign Missions at Paris, did so much, founded a mission on the Penobscot. This was long directed by the Rev. Peter Thury, who acquired great influence over the Indians, accompanying them in peace and war till his death in 1699. A Recollect, Father Simon, had a mission at Medoktek, on the St. John's, which was subsequently directed by the Jesuits, as well as that on the Penobscot.

Meanwhile the mission on the Chaudière had been transferred to the site still known as St. François, and on the death of Rale bands of the Kennebec Indians emigrated to it, forming a strong Indian village, which sent many a vindictive war-party on the frontiers of New England. This drew on it fierce retaliation from Rogers and his partisan corps, who captured the village, killed many, and fired church and dwellings.[1]

The Missions at Three Rivers and Montreal. — Ascending the St. Lawrence, the next mission centre was Three Rivers, where the Jesuit missionaries Le Jeune and Buteux resumed, in 1633, the labors of the Recollect Brother Du Plessis and Fathers Huet and Poullain. It was a place of trade where Indians gathered, so that the missionaries found constant objects of their care. Many were instructed, and returned to impart to others their newly acquired knowledge of God's way with man, and the consolations of Christianity.

Gradually the Indians who had settled near Three Rivers were almost entirely won; while the Attikamegues, or White Fish Indians, dwelling far inland, came to ask a missionary to reside among them. They were of the Montagnais tongue, and remarkable for their gentle character. Father Buteux, charmed with their docility, instructed them; and at last, in 1651, ascended the river, and after a toilsome journey of fifty-three days, reached their country. All who had not become Christians already were anxiously awaiting his arrival; a rude chapel was raised, and the neophytes in their fervor crowded to it to listen or to pray. The next year Buteux set out once more to make a missionary visit to this interesting race; but the Iroquois were on their track, and the missionary while making a portage re-

printed, submitted to the same Society (*Proceedings*, i. 476) some original papers concerning Rale, preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*, and these were used by Convers Francis in his *Life of Ralle* in Sparks's *American Biography*. Cf. also 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* viii. 2511 and *Proceedings*, iii. 324. An account of his monument is in the *Historical Magazine*, March, 1858, p. 84, and June, 1871, p. 399. — Ed.]

[1] The Abenaki missions on the St. Lawrence and in Maine were continued, however; and a remnant of the tribe still adhere to the Catholic faith at Indian Old Town, on the Penobscot, as they did in the days of Rale and of Orono, their chief, who led them to fight beside the Continentals in the Revolution. They are now known as the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, but are dwindling away.

ceived two fatal wounds, and died amid his arduous duties. The tribe was soon nearly annihilated, the survivors seeking refuge among the remote lodges of the scattered Montagnais.

Among the converts at Three Rivers was Pieskaret, the most famous warrior of the Montagnais or Adirondacks, whose bravery was the terror of the Iroquois. But the Indians of that portion of the St. Lawrence valley were doomed, — nearly all were swept away by the Iroquois; and after the death of Buteux the Montagnais mission at Three Rivers seems to have numbered few Indians, nearly all the survivors having fled to their kindred tribes near Tadousac.

When the settlement at Montreal was formed in 1641 by Maisonneuve acting under the Society of Montreal, the Jesuits were the first clergymen of the new town, and began to labor among the Indians who gathered there from the St. Lawrence and Ottawa. This mission of the Jesuits was not, however, a permanent one. The Sulpitians, — a community of priests established in Paris by the Rev. John James Olier, one of the members of the Montreal society, — became the proprietors of the new settlement, and they continue still in charge of churches, institutions, and missions on or near Montreal island, after a lapse of more than two centuries. An Indian mission for Algonquins was begun on the mountain at a spot now known as the Priests' Farm, chiefly by the liberality and zeal of the Rev. Mr. Belmont.

Iroquois and Hurons also came, and the mission was removed to Sault au Récollet, and then to the Lake of the Two Mountains. Here it still exists, embracing an Iroquois village and one of Algonquin language, made up in no small part of Nipissings from the lake of that name. This is the oldest mission organization in Canada, the Sulpitians having been unmolested by the English Government, which put an end to the communities of the Jesuits and Recollects.

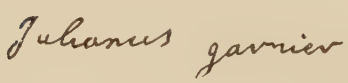
Above Montreal no permanent missions were attempted among the Algonquin bands dotted along the line of the Ottawa, — the Indians seeking instruction on their visits to the French posts and missions, or receiving missionaries from time to time, as their river was the great highway to the West.

THE HURON MISSION. — The Huron nation in Upper Canada, a confederacy of tribes allied in origin and language to the Iroquois, had been already the field of a mission conducted by Recollects, aided after a time by the Jesuits. When Canada was restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain, Brebeuf penetrated to his old mission, in 1634, accompanied by Fathers Daniel and Davost, and in September erected a log chapel in the town of Ihonatiria. Thus began the greatest of the Jesuit missions in Canada, which called forth the most intrepid courage of the heralds of

Christianity, and triumphed over the heathen hostility in the tribes, only to perish at last by the hands of the terrible Iroquois.

The Hurons lived in palisaded towns, their bark cabins clustering within, while the fields where they cultivated corn, beans, pumpkins, and tobacco lay near. Their hunting and fishing excursions were comparatively short, and they laid up stores of provisions for winter. The opportunity for instructing the people was accordingly much greater than among the nomadic tribes of the Algonquin family. Brebeuf, already versed in the language, extended his studies and initiated his associates into its intricate peculiarities. The young were the first care, and catechetical instructions were daily given to all whom they could gather. The Lord's Prayer and other devotions were taught; but it was not easy to secure continuous attendance. This led to the project of a school at Quebec, to which some of the most promising boys were sent. There, with less to tempt them, more progress was made; yet the result was but temporary, for the pupils on returning to the upper country threw aside their slight civilization.

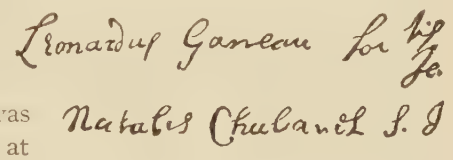
As other missionaries arrived, the labors of the Fathers in the Huron country extended; but they found that the medicine-men were bitter enemies, foreseeing a loss of all their influence. The march of Europeans through America always spread new diseases. In the Huron country the ravages were severe. The medicine-men ascribed all to the missionaries. Cabins were closed against them; their lives were in constant peril. Their house was set on fire, and a council of the three tribes met to decide whether they should all be put to death. The undaunted missionaries prepared to meet their fate, committing their chapel service and the fruit of their Indian studies to Peter Tsiwendeentaha, their first adult convert. Their fearless conduct at last triumphed. Adults came to solicit instruction; Ossossare and Teananstayae became mission stations, four Fathers laboring in each, while Garnier and Jogues proceeded to the towns of the Tionontates, a kindred tribe, who from their cultivation and sale of tobacco were generally called by the French the Petun, or Tobacco tribe. As new stations were formed and chapels built in the Huron towns, the missionaries in 1639 erected on the River Wye the mission-house of St. Mary's, to serve as a centre from which priests could be sent to any of the towns, and where they could always find refuge. They extended their labors to the Neutral Nation and to the Algonquin tribes lying near the Huron country, reaching as far as Sault Ste. Marie. The missionaries endured great hardships and sufferings on these journeys from hunger, cold, and accident, — Brebeuf having broken his collar-bone by a fall, and reaching his lodge only by a long and weary progress on his hands and knees. Their efforts seemed almost vain. In 1640 they could claim only one hundred Christians out of sixteen thousand Hurons; a few prominent chiefs had joined them, but the young braves would not submit to the law of the gospel. Christian families, and still more Christians in heathen fami-



lies, were subjected to much persecution, till the number of catechumens in a town enabled them to take a firm stand.

Meanwhile the Five Nations, freely supplied with firearms by the Dutch, were annihilating the Huron tribes, already weakened by disease. The war interrupted intercourse between the Huron country and Quebec. Father Jogues, sent down in 1642 to obtain supplies for the mission, while journeying back, fell with many Hurons into the hands of the Mohawks, who killed most of the party, and led the rest with the missionary to their towns. The missionary and his attendant, René Goupil, were tortured and mutilated, reduced to the rude slavery of Indian life, and witnessed the execution of most of their Hurons. Full of missionary zeal, they endeavored to impart some ideas of Christianity; but the effort cost Goupil his life, and Jogues was with difficulty rescued by the Dutch, and sent to Europe.

The missionaries in the Huron country, by the loss of the supplies in the Huron flotilla, were reduced to great straits, till Brebeuf reached them with two assistants, Garreau and Chabanel, whom no dangers could deter. Father Bressani, returning to his western labors, was less fortunate; he too was captured, and endured all but death at the hands of the Mohawks. His sufferings led the charitable Dutch to effect his release. Yet neither Jogues nor Bressani faltered; both returned to Canada to continue their perilous work.



When a temporary peace gave the Huron mission a respite, there were five churches in as many towns, and one for Algonquins living in the Huron country. The voice of the missionary seemed to find more hearers, and converts increased; but the end was at hand.

In July, 1648, the Iroquois attacked Teananstayae. As the braves manned the palisades, Father Daniel was among them to give them the consolations of religion, to confess and baptize; then he hurried to the cabins to minister to the sick and aged. He found his chapel full, and urging them to flight from the rear, he closed the front portal behind him, and awaited the Iroquois braves, who had stormed the palisade and were swooping down on the cross-crowned church. Riddled by arrows and balls, he fell dead, and his body was flung into the burning church of St. Joseph.

The capture of this town seemed a death-blow to hope in the bosoms of the Hurons. They abandoned many of their towns, and fled to the islands of Lake Huron or the towns of the Petuns. They could not be aroused to any system of defence or precaution.

On the 16th of the ensuing March, a force of a thousand Iroquois stormed, at daybreak, the Huron town which the missionaries called St. Ignatius. So general and complete was the massacre, that only three escaped to the next large town, St. Louis. Here were stationed the veteran

Brebeuf, companion of the early Recollect missioners in the land, friend of Champlain, and with him as associate the young Gabriel Lalemant.

The Hurons urged the missionaries to fly; but, like Daniel, they remained, exercising their ministry to the last, and attending to every call of zeal. The Hurons repelled the first assault; but their palisade was carried at last, and the victorious Iroquois fired the cabins. The missionaries, while ministering to the wounded and dying, were captured. They were taken, with other captives, to the ruined town of St. Ignatius, and there a horrible torture began. They were bound to the stake; Brebeuf's hands were cut off; Lalemant's body bristled with awls and iron barbs; red-hot hatchets were pressed under their arms and between their legs; and around the neck of Brebeuf a collar of these weapons was placed. But the heroic old missionary denounced God's vengeance on the savages for their cruelty and hatred of Christianity, till they cut off his nose and lips, and thrust a firebrand into his mouth. They sliced off his flesh and devoured it, and, scalping him, poured boiling water on his head, in mockery of baptism; then they hacked off his feet, clove open his chest, and devoured his heart. Lalemant was wrapped in bark to which fire was applied, and underwent many of the same tortures as the older missionary; he too was baptized in mockery, his eyes torn out and coals forced into the sockets. After torturing him all the night, his tormenters clove his head asunder at dawn.

St Mary's was menaced; but the Huron fugitives there sent out a party which repulsed the Iroquois, who then retired, sated with their vengeance. The Huron nation was destroyed. Fifteen towns were abandoned. One tribe, the Scanonaenrat, submitted to the Iroquois, and removed to the Seneca country in a body, with many Hurons of other tribes. Some bands fled to the Petuns, Neuters, Eries, or Susquehannas. A part, following the first fugitives to the islands in Lake Huron, roamed to Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. These were in time brought back by later missionaries to Mackinac.

The Huron mission was overthrown. A few of the Jesuit missionaries followed the fugitives to St. Joseph's Island; others joined Garnier in the Petun mission. But that too was doomed. Echarita was attacked in December, the Iroquois avoiding the Petun braves who had sallied out to meet them. Garnier, a man of singularly attractive character, earnest and devoted, though mortally wounded, dragged himself along on the ground to minister to the wounded, and was tomahawked as he was in the act of absolving one. Another missionary, Chabanel, was killed by an apostate Huron. Their comrades accompanied the fugitive Petuns as they scattered and sought refuge in the islands. The number of the Hurons and Petuns was too great for the limited and hasty agriculture to maintain. Great misery ensued. In June, 1650, the missionaries abandoned the Huron country, and descended to Quebec with a number of

the Hurons. This remnant of a once powerful nation were placed on Isle Orleans; but the Iroquois swept many of them off, and the survivors found a home at Lorette, where their descendants still remain.

Thus ended the Huron mission in Upper Canada, which was begun by the Recollect Le Caron in 1615, and which had employed twenty-nine missionaries, seven of whom had yielded up their lives as the best earnest of their sincerity and devotion to the cause of Christian progress.

The Jesuit missions were by this time reduced to a most shadowy state. The Iroquois had almost entirely swept away the Montagnais tribes on the St. Lawrence above the Saguenay; they had cut to pieces most of the bands of Algonquins on the Ottawa, while the country of the Hurons, Petuns, and Neuters was a desert. The trading-posts of the French at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec were almost forsaken; no longer did flotillas come laden with peltries to gladden the merchants, and give missionaries an opportunity to address distant tribes. Several missionaries returned to Europe, as there seemed no field to be reached in America.

Suddenly, however, such a field presented itself. The Iroquois, who had carried off a missionary — Father Poncet — from near Quebec, proposed peace. They were in a fierce war with the Eries and Susquehannas, and probably found that in their bloodthirsty march they were making the land a desert, cutting off all supplies of furs from Dutch and French alike. At all events, they restored Poncet, and, proposing peace, solicited missionaries.

THE IROQUOIS MISSION. — War with the Iroquois had been almost uninterrupted since the settlement of Canada. Champlain found the Canadian tribes of every origin arrayed against the fierce confederation which in their symbolic language "formed a cabin." The founder of Canada had gone to the very heart of the Iroquois country, and at the head of his swarthy allies had given them battle on the shores of Lake Champlain and on the borders of Lake Oneida. But the war had brought the French colony to the brink of ruin, and swept its allies from the face of the earth.

Now peace was to open to missionary influence the castles of this all-conquering people, and a foothold was to be gained there; and not only this, but, relieved from war, Canada was to open intercourse with the great West, and new missions were to be attempted in the basin of the upper lakes and in the valley of the Mississippi. The missionaries of Canada were thus to extend their labors within the present limits of our republic on the north, as the Franciscans of Spain were doing along the southern part from Florida to New Mexico.

The Recollect Joseph de la Roche d'Allion had already in early days crossed the Niagara from the west; Jogues and Raymbault had planted the cross at Sault Ste. Marie; Father Jogues had attempted to found a mission

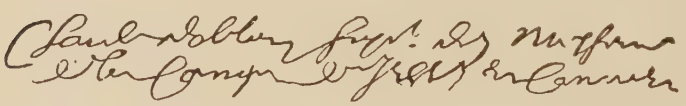
on the banks of the Mohawk; but his body, with the bodies of Goupil and Lalande, had mouldered to dust in our soil.

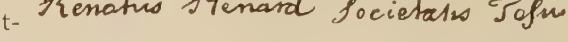
Father Simon le Moyne, who had succeeded to the Indian name of Jogues, and who inherited his spirit, was the interpreter in the recent negotiations, and had been invited to Onondaga and the Mohawk. For the former, the seat of the council-fire of the Iroquois league, he set out from Quebec July 2, 1654, and reached Onondaga by a route then new to the French, passing through the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, and the Oswego. He was favorably received at Onondaga, and the sachems, formally by a wampum belt, invited the French to build a house on Lake Ontario.

There was already a Christian element in the Iroquois cantons. Each of the cantons contained hundreds of Hurons, all instructed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and not a few openly professing it; while in the Seneca country was a town made up of the Scanonaenrat Hurons, Petuns, and Neuters. Le Moyne found wherever he went Christians eager to enjoy his ministry.

His embassy filled all with hope; and the next year, as the Onondagas, through a Christian chief, solicited the establishment of a mission by the Jesuit Fathers, Peter Joseph Chaumonot and Claude Dablon were selected. They reached Onondaga, and after a formal reception by the sachems with harangues and exchange of wampum belts, the missionaries were escorted to the spot given to them for their house and chapel. Two springs, one salt and one of clear, sparkling fresh water, still known as the Jesuits' well, mark the knoll where St. Mary's of Ganentaa was speedily erected. The Canadian missionaries, from their resources and alms contributed in France, spent large amounts to make this new central mission adapted for all the fond hopes planned for its future work in diffusing the gospel.

The missionaries found the greatest encouragement in the interest manifested, and in the numbers who came to solicit instruction. They labored assiduously to gather the unexpected harvest; but mistrust soon came, with reports of hostile action by the French. Dablon returned to Canada, and a party of French under Captain Dupuis set out to begin a settlement at Onondaga, while Fathers Le Mercier and Menard went to extend the missions. They were welcomed with all the formalities of Indian courtesy; and while Dupuis and his men prepared to form the settlement, the missionaries erected a second chapel at the Onondaga castle, which was attended from Ganentaa. Then René Menard began a mission among the Cayugas, and Chaumonot, passing still farther, visited the Seneca town of Gandagare, and that occupied by the Scanonaenrat, many of whom were already Christians, and more ready to embrace the faith. The Senecas themselves showed a disposition to listen to Christian doctrines. Finding





the field thus full of promise, Chaumonot and Menard returned to Onondaga, whence they were despatched to Oneida. Here they found less promise, but there were captive Hurons to profit by their ministry.

Meanwhile Father Le Moyne had visited the Mohawk canton from Canada, and prepared the way for a mission in that tribe.

Thus at the close of 1656 missionaries had visited each of the Five Nations, and all seemed ready for the establishment of new and thriving missions. The next year signs of danger appeared. A party of Hurons compelled to remove to Onondaga were nearly all massacred on the way, the missionaries Ragueneau and Duperon in vain endeavoring to stay the work of

LAKE ONTARIO AND THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY.[1]

[1] [From the *Jesuit Relation* of 1662–1663, showing the relative positions of the Five Nations, and Fort d'Orange (Albany).

Cf. this with map *Pays des Cinq Nations Iroquoises*, preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Paris, and engraved in Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, iii. 196; and with one cited by Harrisse (no. 239), *Le Lac Ontario avec les Lieux circonuoisins, et particulierement les Cinq Nations Iroquoises, l'Année* 1688, which he would assign to Franquelin.— ED.]

slaughter, which was coolly ascribed to them. The Mohawks, though they received Le Moyne, were openly hostile. They attacked a flotilla of Ottawas at Montreal, and slew the missionary Leonard Garreau, who was on his way to the far West, to establish missions on the upper lakes.

The missionaries in the cantons and the little French colony at Onondaga were soon evidently doomed to a like fate. So evident was the hostility of the Five Nations, that Governor d'Ailleboust arrested all the Iroquois in Canada to hold them as hostages. The missionaries at Ganentaa saw their danger, and through the winter formed plans for escape. At last, in March, they prepared for a secret flight, and to cover their design gave a banquet to the Onondagas, adopting the kind in which, according to Indian custom, all the food must be eaten. Dances and games were kept up till a late hour; and when the weary guests at last departed, the French, who had amid the din borne to the water's edge boats and canoes secretly prepared in their house, embarked, and, plying oar and paddle all night long, reached Lake Ontario unseen and undiscovered even by a wandering hunter. It was not till the following evening that the Onondagas, finding the house at Ganentaa still and quiet, discovered that the French had vanished. But the mode of escape was long a mystery to them, so cautiously and adroitly had all the preparations for flight been made.

Le Moyne, in similar peril on the Mohawk, wrote a farewell letter, which he committed to the Dutch authorities; but the sachems of the tribe suddenly sent him to Montreal in the care of a party, so that in March, 1657, the Jesuit missionaries had all withdrawn from the territory of the Five Nations, after their short but laborious effort to open the eyes of the people to the truths of religion.

The Iroquois then dropped the mask, and war parties swept through the French colony, filling it with fire and blood. Yet the influence of the missionaries had not been in vain. One able man, Garakonthié, had listened and studied, though his unmoved countenance gave no token of interest or assent. He became the protector of the Indian Christians and of French prisoners, as well as an open advocate of peace. Saonchiogwa, the Cayuga sachem, embraced his views, and in the summer of 1660 appeared at Montreal as an envoy of peace, restoring some prisoners and demanding a missionary for Onondaga. The Governor of Canada hesitated to ask any of the Jesuit Fathers to undertake so perilous a duty; but as the lives of the French at Onondaga depended on it, Father Le Moyne intrepidly undertook the mission. He was waylaid by Oneidas, but escaped, and reached Oswego. Garakonthié came out to meet him. Once more peace was ratified. Nine prisoners accompanied Garakonthié to Montreal, Le Moyne remaining; but so frail was the newly established peace, that war parties from Mohawk and Onondaga slew, near Montreal, two zealous Sulpitians,

the Rev. Messrs. Vignal and Le Maître. Though aware that any moment might be his last, Le Moyne labored on at Onondaga and Cayuga among Huron captives and native Iroquois, many, especially women, having become Christians, and instructing others whom they brought to the missionary. His labors ended in the spring of 1661, when he returned to Canada with the rest of the French captives.

Again war was resumed, and though there were negotiations for peace, and even applications for missionaries, the French Government, weary of being the sport of Indian treachery, resolved to humble the Iroquois. Regular troops and a body of colonists were sent from Europe, and preparations made for a vigorous war. Forts were erected on the Sorel River and Lake Champlain to cover Canada and aid in operations against the Mohawks and Oneidas. The western cantons, influenced by Garakonthié, proposed peace, and their proposals were accepted. Then, in 1665, De Courcelles led a force, on snow-shoes, to the very castles of the Mohawks, and though the tribe was warned in time to escape, their flight had its effect on the other cantons. The Oneidas asked for peace, and the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas renewed their request. De Tracy, the Viceroy of Canada, led in person a force of twelve hundred French and one hundred Indians to the Mohawk country, and laid it waste, burning all their towns and destroying all their stores of provisions.

This exhibition of strength compelled the Mohawks to sue for peace. All the cantons united in the treaty, and all solicited missionaries. Once more were the Jesuits to undertake to propagate Christianity in the towns of the Iroquois league, which had been so uniformly hostile to the French and their allies. In July, 1667, Fathers Fremin, Bruyas, and Pierron set out for the field of their mission work, trusting their lives to a Mohawk party. They reached Gandawagué, and there and elsewhere found Christians. A chapel in honor of St. Mary was raised, and Fremin, sending Bruyas to Oneida, began his labors seriously. Pierron, after visiting Albany, returned to Quebec, and in May, 1668, Onondaga was assigned to Father Julian Garnier. Then De Carheil began St. Joseph's mission at Cayuga; and Fremin, leaving Pierron on the Mohawk, set out for the Seneca country to establish a mission there.

Missionaries were thus at their labors in all the cantons, reviving the faith of the captive Hurons, and winning the better disposed to the faith. At Onondaga, Garakonthié during his life was the great stay of the missions. He did not at once embrace Christianity; but after mature deliberation was baptized with great solemnity in the cathedral of Quebec in 1669, and persevered to his death, respected by English, Dutch, and French, and by the Indians of the Five Nations, as a man of remarkable ability and virtue. The Mohawk canton gave to the faith Catharine Ganneaktena, an Erie captive, who founded subsequently a mission village on the St. Lawrence; Catharine Tehgahkwita, a Mohawk girl whom Canada reveres to this day as a saint; the Chief Assendasé; and subsequently Kryn,

known as the Great Mohawk: Oneida gave the Chief Soenrese. Everywhere the missionaries found hearers, and among them many with courage enough to throw off the old ideas and accept Christianity with the strict obligations it imposed. The liquor which was sold without check at Albany made drunkenness prevalent throughout the castles of the Five Nations, brutalizing the braves; and these degraded men became tools of the medicine-men, who, clinging to the old belief, rallied around them the old Pagan party. But it is a remarkable fact that the Jesuit missionaries, while they did not succeed in making the Five Nations Christian, overthrew the worship of Agreskoué, or Tharonhiawagon, their old divinity, so completely that his name disappeared; and even those Iroquois who to this day refuse to accept Christianity, nevertheless worship Niio or Hawenniio, God or the Lord, who is no other than the God preached by the Jesuits in their almost hopeless struggle in the seventeenth century.

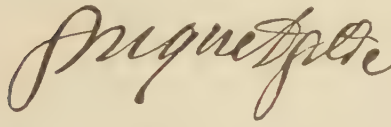
The Christians in the cantons were subjected to so many annoyances and petty persecutions, that gradually some sought homes with the Hurons at Lorette; but when, in 1669, the Jesuits offered La Prairie de la Magdelaine, a tract owned by them opposite Montreal, the Iroquois Christians began there the mission of St. Francis Xavier. The opportunity of being free from all molestation, of enjoying their religion in peace, led many to emigrate from the castles in New York, and a considerable village grew up, which the French fostered as a protection to Canada. This mission in time was moved up to Sault St. Louis, and became the present village of Caughnawaga, of which St. Regis is an offshoot. About the same time Iroquois Christians gathered at the Sulpitian Mission of the Mountain formed a village there beside that of the Algonquins, and this, removed to the Lake of the Two Mountains, still subsists, the same church serving for the flock divided in language.

These missions, continually recruited by accessions of converts from New York, afforded the missionaries the best opportunity for improving the Indians, and the spirit of religious fervor prevailed. The daily devotions, the zeal and piety of these new Christians, won encomiums from the bishop and clergy and from the civil authorities.

The sachems of the league saw with no favorable eye this emigration which was building up Iroquois settlements in Canada; for at Quinté Bay, Lake Ontario, was a third, chiefly of Cayugas, among whom the Sulpitians became missionaries. Finding their own efforts to recall the emigrants fruitless, the sachems complained to the English authorities. Dongan, the able governor of New York, whose great object was to exclude the French from the territory south of the great lakes, took up the matter in earnest. He brought over English Jesuits to replace those of France in the missions in the cantons from the Mohawk to Seneca Lake, and offered the Christian Iroquois in Canada a tract at Saratoga, promising them a missionary and special protection. The fall of James II. prevented the successful issue of this plan; but the opposition made manifest in the English policy roused

the old feeling in the Iroquois, and when De la Barre, and subsequently Denonville, marched to attack the Iroquois, the missionaries, no longer safe, abandoned their missions. John de Lamberville, at Onondaga, was the last of the missionaries, and he remained in his chapel till news arrived that Denonville had seized many of the Iroquois in order to send them to the galleys in France, and was advancing at the head of an army. His life was forfeited, but the magnanimous sachems would not punish him for the crime of another. They sent him safely back under an escort.

Thus the Jesuit missions in New York ended virtually in 1687. Father Milet, captured at Fort Frontenac, was a prisoner at Oneida from 1689 to 1694; and in spite of a severe law passed by New York in 1700, Bruyas, the very next year, endeavored to revive the Iroquois missions; but they never recovered any of their old importance, and were finally abandoned in 1708, when the last Jesuit missionary retired to Albany. Thenceforth the Jesuits devoted themselves to their mission at Sault St. Louis; though at a later period the Sulpitian Picquet gathered a new mission at the Presentation, now Ogdensburg, in 1748. During the period of the main missions in the tribes from 1668 to 1687, the baptisms — chiefly of infants, and adults in danger of death — were about two hundred and fifty a year in the Five Nations; no permanent church or mission-house was erected, and the result of their teachings was the only monument. This was not slight: many were sincere Christians, frequenting Montreal and Philadelphia for the practice of their religion, while the Moravian and other later missionaries found these converts, from a knowledge of Christian thought and prayers, valuable auxiliaries in enabling them to reach the heathen Iroquois. Pennsylvania, which had English Jesuit missionaries in her borders, wisely employed their influence to attract Catholic Iroquois to the chapel in Philadelphia, in order to win through them the good-will of the cantons.



Towards the close of the Jesuit missions in New York, the Recollects appeared within the Iroquois limits at Quinté Bay and Niagara, during La Salle's sway; but they made no serious effort to found a mission, though Father Hennepin obtained Bruyas' works on the Mohawk language, in order to fit himself for the task. After the extinction of the Jesuits, secular priests continued the missions at Sault St. Louis and St. Regis, which still exist.

THE OTTAWA MISSIONS. — In the geographical distribution of the country, the district around Lake Superior acquired at an early period the name of the country of the Ottawas, from the first tribe which opened intercourse with the French. The Jesuits, after establishing their missions

among the Hurons, soon extended their care to the neighboring Algonquin tribes, and in 1641 Father Jogues and Father Raymbault visited the Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie. But the overthrow of the Wyandots and the desertion of their country interrupted for years all intercourse between the French on the St. Lawrence and the tribes on the upper lakes. Yet in 1656 an Ottawa flotilla reached the St. Lawrence, and the missionaries Garreau and Druillettes set out with them for the West; but near Montreal Island they were ambushed by the Iroquois, and Garreau was left weltering in his blood. Undeterred by his fate or by the hardships and perils of the long journey, the aged Menard, a veteran of the Huron and Cayuga missions, set out, encouraged by Bishop Laval, with another Ottawa flotilla, in July, 1660, expecting no fate but one that would appall most men. "Should we at last die of misery," he wrote, "how great our happiness will be!" Paddling all day, compelled to bear heavy burdens, deprived of food, and even abandoned by his brutal Ottawa guides, Menard at last reached a bay on the southern shore of Lake Superior on the festival of St. Teresa, and named it in her honor. It was apparently Keweenaw Bay. "Here," he wrote, "I had the consolation of saying mass, which repaid me with usury for all my past hardships. Here I began a mission, composed of a flying church of Christian Indians from the neighborhood of the settlements, and of such as God's mercy has gathered in here." A chief at first received him into his wigwam, but soon drove him out; and the aged priest made a rude shelter of fir branches piled up, and in this passed the winter laboring to instruct and console some as wretched as himself. In the spring his zeal led him to respond to a call from some fugitive Hurons who were far inland. He set out, but was lost at a portage, and in all probability was murdered by a Kickapoo, in August, 1661.

Claude Allouez was the next Jesuit assigned to this dangerous post. In the summer of 1665 he set out, and reaching Chegoimegon Bay on Lake Superior on the first of October, began the mission of La Pointe du St. Esprit, content to labor there alone with no mission station and no countrymen except a few fur-traders between his chapel and Montreal. For thirty years he went from tribe to tribe endeavoring to plant the faith of which he was the envoy. He founded the mission at Sault Ste. Marie, those in Green Bay, the Miami, and, with Marquette, the Illinois mission. He was the first of the missionaries to meet the Sioux and to announce the existence of the great river Mesipi. His first labors were among the Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie, the Ottawas at La Pointe, and the Nipissings at Lake Alimpegon. When reinforced by Fathers Nicolas, Marquette, and Dablon, the last two took post at Sault Ste. Marie; and Allouez, leaving the Ottawa mission to Father Marquette, who soon had the Hurons also gather around him at La Pointe, proceeded to Green Bay, where he founded, in December, 1669, the mission of St. Francis Xavier and a motley village of Sacs and Foxes, Pottawatamies, and Winnebagoes. His visits soon extended to other towns on the bay and on Fox River.

At these missions the Jesuits, after their daily mass, remained for a time to instruct all who came; then they visited the cabins to comfort the sick, and to baptize infants in danger of death. Study of the dialects of the various tribes cost hours of patient toil; and reaching the western limit of the Algonquin tribes, they were already in contact with the Winnebagoes and Sioux of a radically different stock, — the Dakota.

Marquette was preparing the way to the lodges of the Sioux, when the folly of the Hurons and Ottawas provoked that tribe to war. The Hurons fled to Mackinac, the Ottawas to Manitouline, and Marquette was compelled to defer his projected Sioux and Illinois missions.

The field seemed full of promise, and other missionaries were sent out. They labored amid great hardships, and suffered much from the brutality of the Indians. With tribes that were constantly shifting their camping-grounds, it was difficult to maintain any regular system of instruction for adults, or to bring the young to frequent the chapel with any assiduity. Lay brothers, skilled as smiths and workers in metal, were powerful auxiliaries in winning the good-will of the Indians, as they repaired guns and other weapons and utensils. They were the first manufacturers of the West, visiting the copper deposits of Lake Superior, to obtain material for crucifixes, medals, and other similar objects, which the missionaries distributed among their converts. Yet even these lay brothers and their helpers, the volunteer *donnés*, were not free from danger, and tradition claims that one of them was killed by the brutal men whom they had so long served so well.

Of these missions, that at Mackinac, with its Hurons and Ottawas, became the largest and most fervent. The former were more easily recalled to their long-forgotten Christian duties, and the Ottawas benefited by their example. Between 1670 and 1680 this mission, then at Point St. Ignace, numbered five hundred Hurons and thirteen hundred Ottawas.

The missions at Green Bay could show much less progress among the Sacs and Foxes, Mascoutens, Pottawatamies, and Menomonees.

Father Marquette, setting out in June, 1673, from Mackinac with Louis Jolliet, ascended the Fox, and reaching the Wisconsin by a portage, entered the Mississippi, which they descended to the villages of the Quappas or Arkansas. Returning by way of the Illinois River, the Jesuit gave the Kaskaskias the first instructions, and was so encouraged that he returned to found a mission, but died before he could reach his chapel at Mackinac. This Illinois mission was continued by Allouez, who visited it regularly for several years from his headquarters among the Miamis.

There had arisen by this time a strong government opposition to the Jesuits, based partly on a hostility to the order which had always prevailed in France, but heightened in Canada by the fact that in the struggle between the civil authorities and the bishop with his clergy in regard to the selling of liquor to the Indians, the Jesuits were regarded as the most stanch and active adherents of the bishop. This feeling led to the recall of the

Recollects. They found, however, few avenues for their labors. Several were assigned to Cavelier de la Salle, to accompany him on his explorations. One was stationed at Fort Frontenac, and Father Hennepin made some attempt to acquire a knowledge of Iroquois; but no mission work is recorded there or at Niagara, where Father Watteau was left.

Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, with Hennepin and Zenobius Membré, proceeded westward, and when La Salle established his post on the Illinois, which he called Fort Crèvecœur, the three Franciscans attempted a mission. Then Father Zenobius took up his residence in an Illinois wigwam. He found great difficulty, and was not destined to continue the experiment long. Hennepin, sent off by La Salle, descended to the Mississippi, and fell into the hands of the Sioux, who carried him up to the falls which still bear the name he conferred, "St. Anthony's." He was rescued after a time by Du Lhut, but can scarcely be said to have founded a mission. The Iroquois drove the French from Fort Crèvecœur by their attack on the Illinois, Father Gabriel was killed on the march by wandering Indians, and the attempted Recollect mission closed. After La Salle's descent of the Mississippi and departure from the west, Allouez resumed his labors in Illinois, and was followed by Gravier, who placed the mission on a solid basis, and reduced the language to grammatical rules. Binneteau, the Marests, Mermet, and Pinet came to join in the good work. The Illinois seemed to show greater docility than did the tribes on Lake Superior and Green Bay. The missionaries were stationed among the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorias, and Tamaroas. French settlements grew up in the fertile district, and marriages with converted Indian women were not uncommon. These missions flourished for several years, and a monument of the zeal of the Jesuits exists in a very extensive and elaborate dictionary of the language, with catechism and prayers, apparently the work of Father le Boulanger.

When Iberville reached the mouth of the Mississippi he was accompanied by Jesuit Fathers; but at that time no regular mission was attempted at the mouth of the river.

The Seminary of Quebec resolved to enter the wide field opened by the discovery of the Mississippi. Under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, the Rev. Francis de Montigny, the Rev. Messrs. St. Côme and Davion were sent to Louisiana in 1698. They took charge of the Tamaroa mission on the Illinois, and attempted missions among the Natchez, Taensas, and Tonicas; but the Rev. Mr. St. Côme, who was stationed at Natchez, and the Rev. Mr. Foncault were killed by roving Indians. Then the priests of the Quebec Seminary withdrew from the lower Mississippi, but continued to labor at Tamaroa, chiefly for the French, till the closing years of French rule.

The Indian missions of Louisiana were then assigned to the Jesuits, who were allowed to have a residence in New Orleans, but were excluded from all ministry among the colonists. Their principal missions, among the Arkansas, Yazoos, Choctaws, and Alibamons were continued till the suppression

of the order. At the time of the Natchez outbreak, the Jesuit Father du Poisson, who had stopped at the post to give the settlers the benefit of his ministry in the absence of their priest, was involved in the massacre; Father Souel was butchered by the Yazoos whom he was endeavoring to convert, and Father Doutreleau escaped in a most marvellous manner. In the subsequent operations of the French against the Chickasaws, Father Sénat, accompanying a force of French and Illinois as chaplain, was taken and put to death at the stake, heroically refusing to abandon the wounded and dying.

These Louisiana missions extended to the country of the Sioux, where several attempts were made by Father Guignas, who was long a prisoner, and by other Jesuit Fathers. Aubert died by the hands of the Indians while trying to reach and cross the Rocky Mountains with La Verenderye.

The increasing hostility to the Jesuits naturally weakened their missions, which received a death-blow from the suppression of the order in France, — a step carried out so vindictively in Louisiana, that all the churches at their Indian missions were ordered to be razed to the ground.

As Canada fell to England and Louisiana to Spain, the work of the Jesuit missionaries in French North America ended. Their record is a chapter of American history full of personal devotedness, energy, courage, and perseverance; none can withhold the homage of respect to men like Jogues, Brebeuf, Garnier, Buteux, Gravier, Allouez, and Marquette. Men of intelligence and education, they gave up all that civilized life can offer to share the precarious life of wandering savages, and were the first to reveal the character of the interior of the country, its soil and products, the life and ideas of the natives, and the system of American languages. They made known the existence of salt springs in New York, and of copper on Lake Superior; they identified the ginseng, and enabled France to open a lucrative trade in it with China; they planted the first wheat in Illinois and the first sugar in Louisiana. Their missions did not equal in results those of the Franciscans in Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California, — not from any lack of personal ability or devotion to their work, but because they were at the mercy of trading companies, which allowed them a stipend just sufficing for their moderate wants; but neither company nor government made any outlay for such mission-work as would have enabled the missionaries to carry out any general plan for civilizing the natives. The Spanish Government, on the contrary, dealt directly with the missionaries, and did all to insure the success of their teaching. When a mission was to be established in Texas, New Mexico, or California, with the missionaries went a party of soldiers to erect a *presidio* or garrison-house as the nucleus of a settlement. These soldiers took their families with them; civilized Indians from Mexico who had acquired some European arts and trades were also sent, as being able to understand the character of the Indians better. With the party went horses, cattle, sheep, swine, agricultural implements, grain and seeds for planting, looms, etc. Then a mission was established, and as converts were made in the neighboring tribes, they were brought into the mission,

and there taught to read and write in Spanish, instructed religiously, and trained to agriculture and trades. The mission was under discipline like a large factory, and each family shared in the profit.

The defect of the system was that no provision was made for the gradual settling apart from the mission of those who showed ability and judgment, allowing them to manage for themselves, and replacing them by others. They were kept too long in the degree of vassals, with no incentive to acquire manhood and independence. Accordingly, when the missions were suppressed, the Indians, who had never acted for themselves, were left in a state of helplessness.

Such a system in Canada would have saved the Indians of the St. Lawrence Valley and Upper Canada. What was accomplished, was effected by the indomitable energy of individuals, — the Jesuits, laboring most earnestly and continuously, effecting most; the Sulpitians ranking next; then the Priests of the Foreign Missions, and the Recollects. In our time the work of winning the Indians to the Catholic faith, or retaining them among its adherents, has devolved almost entirely on the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Canada and Oregon, the Jesuits and Benedictines in the United States.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE works bearing directly or mainly on the history of the Catholic missions in Canada and the other parts of the northern continent once claimed by France embrace so large a collection, that, instead of the missions being an incident in the civil history, the civil history of French America for much of its first century has to be gleaned from the annals of its missionary work.

For the first Recollect mission, — 1615–1629, — the main authority is Sagard, *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, situé en l'Amérique vers la Mer douce, és derniers confins de la Nouvelle France, dite Canada*, Paris, Denys Moreau, 1632; enlarged a few years later, and published as *Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Frères Mineurs Recollects y ont faicts pour la conversion des infidelles*, Paris, Claude Sonnius, 1636. To each of these works is appended a *Dictionnaire de la Langve Hvronne*, Paris, 1632. Sagard's work is very diffuse, rich in details on Indian life and customs, but gives little as to the civil history of Canada.[1]

[1] [Harrisse, *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, no. 62, says the book is hard reading, which explains the little use made of it by historians. Chevalier, in his introduction to the Paris reprint by Tross, in 1864–66, arraigns Charlevoix for his harsh judgment of Sagard. The original is now rare and costly. Tross, before securing a copy to print from, kept for years a standing offer of 1,200 francs. There are copies in the Harvard College and Carter-Brown (vol. ii. no. 437) libraries. Rich, in 1832, priced it at £1 16*s.*; Quaritch, in 1880, prices it at £63; and Le Clerc (no. 2,947), with the Huron music in fac-simile, gives 1,200 francs. Dufossé (*Americana*, 1876 and 1877–78) prices copies at 1,200 and 1,500 francs; cf. Crowninshield, no. 948, and Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,344.

Of the *Grand Voyage* of 1632, there are copies in Harvard College and Carter-Brown libraries, and in the Library of Congress. Other copies were in the Crowninshield (no. 949), Brinley (no. 143), and O'Callaghan (no. 2,046) sales. Harrisse (*Notes*, etc., no. 53) says that after the Solar sale, where it brought 320 francs, it be-

Le Clercq, *Établissement de la Foi*, 2 vols. 12mo, 1691, translated as *Establishment of the Faith*, 2 vols. 8vo, New York, 1881,[1] gives in the first volume a clearer and more definite account of the ecclesiastical history of Canada for the period embraced in the first Recollect mission.

The *Voyages de Champlain*, Paris, 1619, gives some account of the introduction of the Recollects into Canada.[2] In Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, Paris,

came an object for collectors; and Dufossé, in 1877, priced it at 550 francs; Ellis & White, the same year, at £42; Quaritch, at £36; Rich, fifty years ago, said copies had brought £15. Cf. Field, no. 1,341. This book was also reprinted by Tross in 1865. — ED.]

[1] [This translation, of which only 250 copies were printed, was made by Dr. Shea. He introduces it with "A Sketch of Father Christian Le Clercq," which includes a bibliographical account of his works. The book supplements in a measure Sagard's *Histoire du Canada*, since that had given the earlier labors as this portrays the later works of the Recollects, or at least more minutely than Sagard. The Recollects had been recalled to Canada to thwart the Jesuits, and Le Clercq reached Quebec in 1673, and was assigned in 1675 to the vicinity of the Bay of Gaspé as a missionary field; and it is of his labors in this region that we learn in his *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie*, which was printed in Paris in 1691 (cf. Harrisse, *Notes*, 170; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, 902; Ternaux, 176; Faribault, 82; Lenox, in *Historical Magazine*, ii. 25; Dufossé, *Americana*, 1878, 75 and 100 francs; Sabin, vol. x. p. 159; Stevens, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 1870, no. 1,113; *Brinley Catalogue*, 102; Le Clercq, *Bibl. Amer.*, 746, 140 francs; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,415; O'Callaghan, no. 1,360), and Le Clercq refers his readers to the present work for a continuation of the story, but it does not contain it, that portion being suppressed, as Dr. Shea thinks. The Jesuits are bitterly satirized by Le Clercq in the concluding part of the first volume, and in the second of the *Établissement*. Shea's collation of the *Nouvelle Relation* does not correspond with the Harvard College copy, which has 28 instead of 26 preliminary leaves. See also Sabin's *Dictionary*, vol. x. no. 39,649; Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 903; Harrisse, *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, no. 170; Boucher de la Richarderie, vi. 21; Faribault, p. 82.

The original edition of the *Établissement* had two varieties of title, one bearing the author's name in full, and the other concealing it by initials. It is very rare with either title, but copies can be found in the Carter-Brown Library (see *Catalogue*, no. 1,413), and in the Sparks Collection at Cornell University (see *Sparks Catalogue*, no. 1,482). Dr. Shea notes other copies in Baron James Rothschild's library at Paris, and in the Abbé H. Verreau's collection at Montreal. Mr. Stewart tells me there are copies in the libraries of Laval University, of the Quebec Government, of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and of Parliament, at Ottawa. The Lenox Library has a copy of what seems the same edition, with the title changed to *Histoire des colonies françoises*, Paris and Lyons, 1692. Mr. Lenox (*Historical Magazine*, January, 1858), following Sparks and others, claimed that the 1691 edition was suppressed; but Harrisse (*Notes*, etc. p. 159) disputes this in a long notice of the book, in which he cites *Œuvres de Messire Antoine Arnould*, Paris, 1780, xxxiv. 720, to the contrary. Le Clercq's book should have a map, "Carte generalle de la Nouvelle France," which is given in fac-simile in vol. ii. of this translation. It includes all North America, except the Arctic regions, but, singularly, omits Lake Champlain.

President Sparks wrote in his copy: "An extremely rare book. . . . It is peculiarly valuable as containing the first original account of the discoveries of La Salle by two [Recollect] missionaries who accompanied him. From this book, also, Hennepin drew the account of his pretended discovery of the Mississippi River." See the bibliographical notice in Shea's *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 78. Sparks, in his *Life of La Salle*, first pointed out how Hennepin had plagiarized from the journal of Father Membré, contained in Le Clercq. See further in Shea's *Mississippi Valley*, p. 83 *et seq.*, where Membré's journal in Shea's translation from Le Clercq was printed for the first time, and the note on Hennepin, following chap. viii. of the present volume. Harrisse, *Notes*, etc., p. 160, points out what we owe to this work for a knowledge of La Salle's explorations. Cf. Parkman's *La Salle;* Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 903, with a note touching the authorship; Brunet, *Supplement*, i. 810, noting copies sold, — Maisonneuve, 250 francs; Sóbolewski, 150 thalers; Tross (1873), 410 francs; Dufossé, 600 francs; Le Clercq, no. 2,833, 1,500 francs.

The bibliographers are agreed that others than Le Clercq were engaged in the *Établissement*, and that the part concerning Frontenac was clearly not by Le Clercq. Charlevoix says Frontenac himself assisted in it; and it is Shea's opinion that extraneous matter was attached to Le Clercq's account of the Recollect missions, to convert the book into an attack in large part on the Jesuits. — ED.]

[2] Champlain's *Voyages*, Prince ed. iii. 104 *et seq.*

1875, there are two memoirs by the Recollects, drawn up to obtain permission to return to Canada,— one made in 1637 (vol. i. p. 3), the other in 1684 (p. 18),—both bearing on their earlier labors.

Le Clercq refers in two places[1] to "an ample Relation given to the public" by the Recollects of Aquitaine for an account of their labors in Acadia; but the work is still unknown to bibliographers and students.

For the later Recollect missions, the sources to be consulted are Father Christian Le Clercq, *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*, Paris, 1691, and the second volume of his *Établissement de la Foi*. Hennepin, in his *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, 1688, translated as *Description of Louisiana*, New York, 1881, gives an account of his own missionary career; but his *Nouvelle Découverte* expands his former work, and introduces matter of doubtful authenticity, while his *Nouveau Voyage* is based on the second volume of Le Clercq.[2]

As bearing on the Recollect missions, cf. the *Voyage au Nouveau Monde* of Father Crespel, Amsterdam, 1757; in English in *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness*, Boston.[3]

On the Jesuit missions, the works to be consulted are, for the first attempt in Acadia, Biard, *Relation de la Nouvelle France, de ses Terres, Naturel des Terres, et de ses Habitans*, Lyons, 1616, reprinted in the *Relations des Jésuites*, Quebec, 1858, and in fac-simile by Dr. O'Callaghan; the accounts in the *Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Jesu* for 1612, Lyons, 1618, and for 1611, Douay, 1618; Biard's letter in Carayon's *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada*, pp. 1–105; and an adverse view in Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 3d ed., Paris, 1618.

For the missions of Canada proper, the series of *Jesuit Relations*, as they are generally called, volumes issued in Paris, beginning with the "Lettre du Père Charles l'Allemant," Paris, 1627 (also vol. xiii. of the *Mercure Français*), as *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année MDCXXVI*, and continued annually from the *Briève Relation du Voyage de la Nouvelle France*, by Father Paul le Jeune, printed by Cramoisy at Paris in 1632, down to the year 1672, comprising in all a series of forty-one volumes. Besides the religious information which it was their main object to convey, in order to interest the pious in France in their mission work, the Jesuits in these *Relations* give much information as to the progress of geographical discovery, the resources and fauna of the country, the Indian nations, their language, manners, and customs, their wars and vicissitudes. The volumes have been much sought by collectors, and the whole series was reprinted by the Canadian Government at Quebec in 1858, in three large octavo volumes, under the title of *Relations des Jésuites*. Though some *Relations* were reprinted and translated into Latin, complete sets have never been common. In Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foi* there is a bitter and satirical review of these Jesuit *Relations*, but the writer evidently had only eight or nine of the volumes; and Arnauld, the great enemy of the Jesuits, having his attention drawn to them by Le Clercq's work, found great difficulty in getting copies of any, but finally discovered fourteen in "a great library." Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan drew attention to them in a paper before the New York Historical Society, and several collectors endeavored to complete sets. Mr. James Lenox obtained nearly all, reprinting two that exist in almost unique copies. Matter was prepared for subsequent volumes by the Superiors of the Canada missions, and the *Relations* for 1672–73, 1675, 1673–79, 1696, and separate *Relations* bearing on the Abenaki, Illinois, and Louisiana missions have been printed to correspond with the old *Relations;* and many of these were reprinted under the title of *Relations Inédites de la Nouvelle France*, 2 vols, 12mo, Paris, 1861. The autobiography of the missionary Chaumonot has also been issued (New York, 1858; Paris, 1869);

[1] *Establishment of the Faith*, i. 200, 346.

[2] [See a note on the bibliography of Hennepin, following chap. viii. of the present volume. — Ed.]

[3] [S. Lesage, in the *Revue Canadienne*, iv. 303 (1867), gives a good summary of the Recollect missions. — Ed.]

IROQUOIS FIVE NATIONS AND MISSION SITES,
1656–1684 (John S. Clark, 1879).
LAC ONTARIO
Chouegouen
LA FAMINE BAY
Andiataronthaes
Bay des Goi-o-gouens
Ft. Niagara
NEUTERS (4 Towns east of Niagara R.)
Conquered by the IROQUOIS
About 1650-55
AWENRERHONONS
Supposed position of removed to
the Huron country 1639
ERIES or CHATS
Conquered by the IROQUOIS
1655-60
MASSAWOMEKS Near LAKE ERIE
Described by Gov. Smith 1608.
Ohevo La Belle Riviere.
Genesee River
Riv. Gasconchagon
Conhocton R.
Route of Expedition against the Andastes 1687
Canaseo R.
SONNONTOUANS.
Sonnontouan
La Conception
Gandachiragon
St. John
Gandagaran
St. James
Gandagarae
St. Michael
GOI-O-GOUENS.
Salt Springs
Tichero.
St. Stephen.
Goi-o-gouen
St. Joseph
Oneyde L.
Onondaga L.
Riv. des Onnontagues
L. Tiaoga
Cayugas
Onondaga
Ganentaa
ONNONTAES
Onnontaga
1650 1696 1654
St John the Baptist.
Position attacked by
Champlain 1615.
ONEIOUTS
Oneiout
St. Francois Xavier
AGNIES
Techiroquen.
LAC TECHIROQUEN.
Otthatayanti R.
Chinonquiqui
La Petite Famine R.
La Famine R.
Galoa
Riv. des Onnontagues
A. de la Place
le Grand
CARANTOUANNAIS
or ONNONTIOGAS
Carantouan 1615.
Chemung R.

and *Lives of Father Isaac Jogues and Brebeuf*, by Father Felix Martin (Paris, 1873, etc.). One work called forth by the Jesuit missions in Canada is the *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains comparées dux mœurs des premiers Temps*, by Father Lafitau, long a missionary at Sault St. Louis, and author also of a treatise on the Ginseng.[1]

For the Louisiana mission there are some letters in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, which are also given in Rt. Rev. W. I. Kip, *Early Jesuit Missions in North America*, New York, 1847. The close of that mission is described in Carayon, *Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1865. Besides the works in French, there is a *Breve Relatione d'alcune Missione*, by Father Joseph Bressani, a Huron missionary captured and tortured by the Mohawks. It appeared at Macerata in 1653, and a French translation of it by F. Félix Martin was issued in Montreal in 1852. The work of Du Creux, *Historia Canadensis*, Paris, 1664, gives a summary of the mission work of the Jesuits in Canada. Father Marquette's account of his voyage down the Mississippi was first printed by Thevenot, *Recueil de Voyages*, Paris, 1681, and was translated into Dutch and issued by Vander Aa. It was printed from the original manuscript by Mr. James Lenox, — *Récit des Voyages et des Descouvertes du R. Père Jacques Marquette*, — and had been previously translated and published by J. G. Shea in his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, New York, 1852.

The history of the Sulpitian missions is to be found chiefly in recent works: Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*, 3 vols., Montreal, 1854; *Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys*, 1853; *Vie de Mlle. Mance*, 2 vols., 1854. Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*, Quebec, 1840; Dollier de Casson, *Histoire de Montreal*, Montreal, 1869; and *Voyage de MM. Dollier et Galinée*, Montreal, 1875, are printed from manuscripts of early missionaries of that body.

Of the missions founded by the Seminary of Quebec nothing has been printed except the *Relation de la Mission du Mississippi du Séminaire de Québec en* 1700, New York, 1861. The vast and successful Spanish missions, extending from the Chesapeake to the Gulf of California, have a literature of their own, of which it is not our province to treat.

[1] [An annotated bibliography of the *Relations* follows this chapter. — Ed.]

NOTE. — The map on the preceding page is a reproduction of a part of a map by Gen. John S. Clark, showing the missionary sites, 1656–1684, in the Iroquois country. It appeared in Dr. Charles Hawley's *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, Auburn, 1879, which had an Introduction on the *Jesuit Relations* by Dr. Shea.

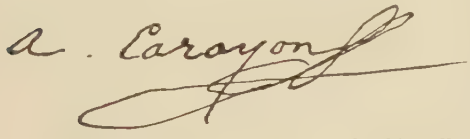
THE JESUIT RELATIONS,

AND OTHER MISSION RECORDS.

A CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY BY THE EDITOR.

THE main bibliographical sources for this study pertain to the Jesuit missions, as follows: —

LE PÈRE AUGUSTE CARAYON: *Bibliographie historique de la Compagnie de Jésus, . . . depuis leur Origine jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1864, 4°.



HENRY HARRISSE: *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, 1545–1700, Paris, 1872. He says, no. 49, that no library (1870–71) has a complete set of the *Jesuit Relations;* and adds that, including those of 1616 and 1627, a full set consists of fifty-four volumes, nine of which are second editions, and one a Latin translation. He had inspected all but one.

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN: a catalogue raisonnée (1632–1672), in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 140, also printed separately. Field (*Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,146), in noticing this essay, says that Dr. O'Callaghan enumerates only forty titles, of which the Carter-Brown Collection had thirty-six; Harvard College, thirty-five; Henry C. Murphy, twenty-nine. "Of the forty-eight now [1873] known to exist, Mr. Murphy has secured all but three." Dr. O'Callaghan at that time named twenty libraries, public and private, in the United States which had sets more or less imperfect. The volumes of some years were not very scarce, those of 1648–1649 and 1653–1654 being known in ten copies in these libraries, while there were at that time no copies at all of the years 1655 and 1659; and these, marked by titles varying from the usual form, are still the rarest of the series.

The O'Callaghan pamphlet was reissued at Montreal in 1850 in a French translation by Father Martin, the superior of the Jesuits in Canada, who amended the text in places, and included the Biard *Relation* of 1613. He also gave an account of unprinted ones still preserved in Canada which were written subsequent to 1672, when the annual printing of them ceased.

Deriving help from this and other sources, Dr. O'Callaghan issued privately, in 1853, a broadside, with an amended list of the *Relations* and their several principal repositories, — State Library, Albany; Harvard College Library; the Parliamentary Library, Quebec; and the private libraries of Mr. Carter-Brown of Providence, Mr. Lenox of New York, Rev. Mr. Plante, Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, and Mr. George Bancroft.

In June, 1870, Dr. O'Callaghan issued a circular asking information of owners of the volumes for a second edition of his tract; but I cannot learn that the new edition was ever published. At the sale of Dr. O'Callaghan's library December, 1882, his *Catalogue*, p. 105, showed 31 of the series; and they brought $1,068.45. Dr. O'Callaghan contributed a paper on the *Relations* to the *International Magazine*, iii. 185.

CARTER-BROWN LIBRARY: *Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 164.

LENOX LIBRARY: *Contributions*, no. ii., *The Jesuit Relation*, etc., New York, 1879. The *Relation* of 1659, of which the copy in the Library of the Canadian Parliament was supposed to be unique, was reprinted in fac-simile by Mr. Lenox. In 1854, at the destruction of the Parliamentary Library at Montreal, its series of these *Relations*, forty-three in number (except eight), and including this unique volume, was destroyed. This *Contribution* shows the Lenox Library to possess forty-nine out of the series of fifty-five, counting different editions of the forty-one titles, from 1632 to 1672, making the fifty-five to include two translations and twelve second or later editions. The Lenox series lacks nos. 1, 28, and 35, as enumerated, and of no. 35 the Carter-Brown Library has the only copy known in America. The Lenox Library also lacks the first issue of no. 2, and the second issue of nos. 3 and 5. It has four duplicates, with slight variations.

These *Relations* will also be found entered under their respective authors in Sabin's *Dictionary* and in Field's *Indian Bibliography*.

The reason of the rarity of these books may lie in part in the smallness of the editions, but probably most in the avidity of readers, and consequent destruction; for Charlevoix says, "They were at the time extremely relished in France." Of their character, the same authority says: "There is no other source to which we can apply for instruction as to the progress of religion among the savages, or for a knowledge of these people, all of whose languages the Jesuits spoke. The style of these *Relations* is extremely simple; but this simplicity itself has not contributed less to give them a great celebrity than the curious and edifying matter they contain." Father Martin, in his translation of Bressani, speaks (p. 8) of these *Relations* as the most precious monument, and sometimes the only source, of the history of Canada, and praises the impartial use made of them by Bancroft and Sparks. Parkman says of them: "Though the productions of men of scholastic training, they are simple and often crude in style, as might be expected of narratives hastily written in Indian lodges or rude mission-houses in the forest, amid annoyances and interruptions of all kinds. In respect to the value of their contents, they are exceedingly unequal. . . . The closest examination has left me no doubt that these missionaries wrote in perfect good faith, and that the *Relations* hold a high place as authentic and trustworthy historical documents. They are very scarce, and no complete collection of them exists in America." Shea (*Le Clercq*, i. 381) has a note of the contemporary discrediting of the *Relations* by rival orders.

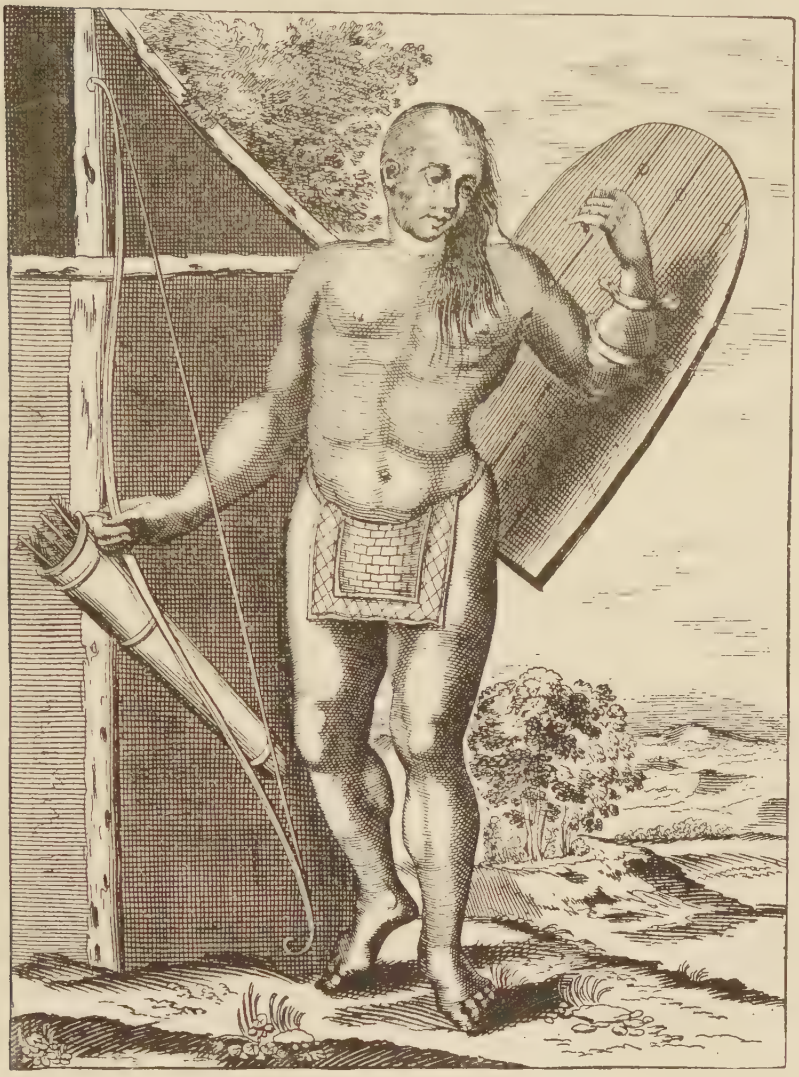
The series was reprinted by the Canadian Government in 1858 in three octavo volumes, with bibliographical notes and synopses, containing — vol. i. 1611, 1626, 1632 to 1641; ii. 1642 to 1655; iii. 1656 to 1672. These reprinted volumes are not now easy to find, and have been lately priced at £7 10*s*. and 100 francs. Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,177; Lenox, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 14.

There have been three supplemental and complemental issues of allied and later *Relations;* one was printed at the expense of Mr. Lenox, and the others had the editorial care of Dr. O'Callaghan and Dr. Shea, of which notice will be taken under their respective dates. See the lists of Shea's "Cramoisy Series" (100 copies printed) in the *Lenox Contributions*, p. 15; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 129 and 1,397; and *Menzies Catalogue*, no. 1,811; and the *O'Callaghan Catalogue* for Dr. O'Callaghan's series (25 copies printed). Dr. Shea's acquaintance with the subject was first largely evinced by his *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 1529–1854, published, at the instance of Jared Sparks, in New York in 1855 (Field, no. 1,392); and he published a list of early missionaries among the Iroquois in the *Documentary History of New York*, iv. 189.

The earliest summarizing of these *Relations* or of those before 1656, was by the Père du Creux (or Creuxius, b. 1596, d. 1666) in his *Historiæ Canadensis, sev Novæ Franciæ, libri decem*, Paris, 1664 (pp. xxvi, 810, 4, map and thirteen pl_tes). There are copies in Harvard College, Carter-Brown, Lenox, and New York Historical Society libraries. Cf. Rich (1832), no. 333, £1 16*s*.; Brinley, no. 82, $80; Carayon, no. 1,322; Harrisse, no. 120; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 945, with fac-simile of title; Leclerc, *Bibl. Amér.* no. 706, 500 fr.; Ternaux, no. 823; Lenox, p. 10; O'Callaghan, no. 699; Huth, i. 367; Sunderland, vol. ii. no. 3,561; Charlevoix (Shea's edition), i. 81, who says: "This extremely diffuse work was composed almost exclusively from the Jesuit *Relations*. Father du Creux did not reflect that details read with pleasure in a letter become unsupportable in a continuous history." "It contains, however," says Dr. Shea, "some curious statements, showing that he had other material." The map, *Tabula Novæ Franciæ anno* 1660, extends so as to include Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, the Chesapeake, and Lake Superior; and it has a corner-map, "Pars regionis Huronum hodie desertæ." The map has been reproduced in Martin's translation of Bressani's *Relation* of 1653, and is given in part on another page of the present volume.

The *Relations* were not much noticed by writers at the time, and few allusions to them appear in contemporaneous works. One of the few books which drew largely from them is *Le Nouveau Monde ou l'Amérique Chrestienne. . . . Par Mᵉ Charles Chavlmer, Historiographe de France.* Paris, 1659.

The story of the missions of New France necessarily makes part of the general works of Charlevoix and the other Catholic historians, particularly the *Histoire du Canada* of Brasseur de Bourbourg, Paris, 1859, who depends largely upon Bancroft for his facts. Mr. Parkman, not bound by the same ties, gives a view of the Jesuits' character, in his *Jesuits in North America*, which has been questioned by their adherents. His book, however, is of the first importance; and Dr. George E. Ellis, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1867, recounts, in a review of the book, the historian's physical disability, which has from the beginning of his labor sadly impeded the progress of his work. Cf. also Dr. Ellis's sustained estimate of Parkman, in his *Red Man and White Man in North America*, p. 259. The story of the Jesuits' trials

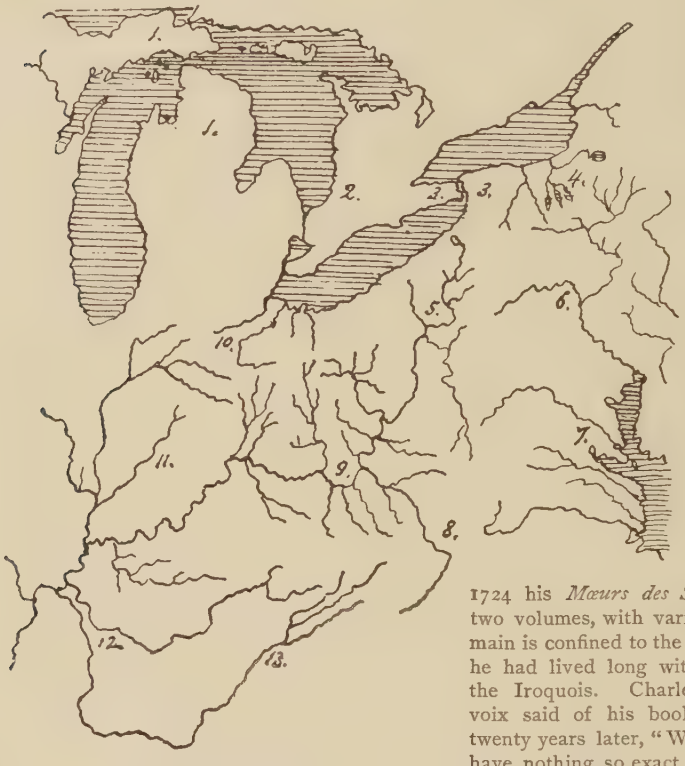


A CANADIAN (*from Creuxius*).

contained in the *Lettres Edifiantes* is translated in Bishop W. I. Kip's *Early Jesuit Missions in North America*, 1846, and again, 1866. Cf. also *Magazine of American History*, iii. 767; M. J. Griffin in *Canadian Monthly*, i. 344; W. B. O. Peabody's "Early Jesuit Missionaries in the Northwest," in *Democratic Review*, May, 1844, reprinted in Beach's *Indian Miscellany;* Judge Law on the same subject, in *Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections*, iii. 89; and Thébaud on the natives and the missions, in *The Month*, June, 1877; Poole's *Index* gives other references, p. 683. Dr. Shea, at the end of his *Catholic Missions*, p. 503, gives a list of his sources printed and in manuscript.

Of the tribes encountered by the Jesuits, there is no better compact account than Mr. Parkman gives in the Introduction to his *Jesuits in North America*, where he awards (p. liv) well-merited praise to Lewis H. Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*, and qualified commendation to Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois*, and gives (p. lxxx) a justly severe judgment on his *Indian Tribes*. Mr. Parkman's Introduction first appeared in the *North American Review*, 1865 and 1866.

There is a rare book containing contemporary accounts of the savages, which was written at Three Rivers in 1663, by the governor of that place, the Sieur Pierre Boucher, and published in Paris in 1664, under the title, *Histoire veritable et naturelle des Mœurs et Productions du Pays de la Nouvelle France, vulgairement dite le Canada.* The author, says Charlevoix (Shea's edition, i. p. 80), should not be confounded with the Jesuit of the same name; and he calls the book under consideration a "superficial but faithful account of Canada." There are copies in the Harvard College, Lenox (*Jesuit Relations*, p. 10), and Carter-Brown (*Catalogue* ii. 941) libraries.[2]



THE OHIO VALLEY, 1600.[1]

Another early account is the *Mémoire sur les Mœurs . . . des Sauvages*, by Nicholas Perrot, which remained in manuscript till it was edited by Father Tailhan, and printed in 1864.[3]

The Jesuit Lafitau published at Paris in 1724 his *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains* in two volumes, with various plates, which in the main is confined to the natives of Canada, where he had lived long with the Iroquois. Charlevoix said of his book, twenty years later, "We have nothing so exact upon the subject;" and Lafitau continues to hold high rank as an ori-

[1] This sketch follows one by Mr. C. C. Baldwin, accompanying an article on "Early Indian Migrations in Ohio," in the *American Antiquarian*, i. 228 (reprinted in *Western Reserve Historical Society's Tracts*, no. 47), in which he conjecturally places the position of the tribes occupying that valley at the opening of the seventeenth century. The key is as follows: 1, Ottawas; 2, Wyandots and Hurons; 3, Neutrals; 4, Iroquois; 5, Eries; 6, Andastes, or Susquehannahs; 7, Algonquins; 8, Cherokees; 9, Shawnees; 10, Miamies; 11, Illinois; 12, Arkansas; 13, Cherokees. (On the Andastes see Hawley's *Cayuga History*, p. 36.)

There is another map of the position of the Indians in 1600 in George Gale's *Upper Mississippi*, Chicago, 1867, p. 49; and Dr. Edward Eggleston gives one of wider scope in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1883, p. 98. Cf. Henry Harvey's *History of the Shawnee Indians*, 1681–1854, Cincinnati, 1855; and a paper by D. G. Brinton on the Shawnees and their migrations, in the *Historical Magazine*, x. 21. Judge M. F. Force, in *Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio*, Cincinnati, 1879, an address before the Philosophical and Historical Society of Ohio, has tracked the changing habitations of the tribes of that region. There is a paper by S. D. Peet on the location of the Indian tribes between the Ohio and the Lakes, in the *American Antiquarian*, i. 85. William H. Harrison controverted the view that the Iroquois ever conquered the valley of the Ohio, in his "Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio," which was printed at Cincinnati in 1838, at Boston in 1840, and in the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio's *Transactions*, vol. i. part 2d, p. 217; but compare C. C. Baldwin's "Iroquois in Ohio, and the Destruction of the Eries," in *Western Reserve Historical Society's Tracts*, no. 40. David Cusick (a Tuscarora) published *Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations*, at Tuscarora Village, 1825, and again at Lockport, N. Y., 1848. An historical sketch of the Wyandots will be found in the *Historical Magazine*, v. 263; and Peter Clarke (a Wyandot) has published the *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandots*. See references in Poole's *Index* under Hurons, Iroquois, Indians, etc.

[2] Harrisse, no. 122. The book has been priced by Leclerc at 500 francs, and by Quaritch at £16 16*s*. Field does not mention it in his *Indian Bibliography*.

[3] See chap. v.; and cf. *Historical Magazine*, ix. 205, and Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 165. Also later *Sub* 1655–56.

ginal authority, though his book is overlaid with a theory of the Tartaric origin of the red race. Mr. Parkman calls him the most satisfactory of the elder writers. (Field, no. 850; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 344, 345, 472; Sabin, vol. x. p. 22.) There was a Dutch version, with the same plates, in 1731.

Bacqueville de la Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, in four volumes, with a distinctive title to each (1722 and 1753), is mainly a history of the Indians with which the French came in contact. He wrote early in the last century, and his book saw several editions, evincing the interest it created. His information is at second hand for the early portions of the period covered (since Cartier); but of the later times he becomes a contemporary authority. (Field, no. 66,)

Of less interest in relation to the seventeenth century is Le Beau's *Voyage Curieux et Nouveau parmi les Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, published at Amsterdam in 1738, — a work, however, of a semi-historical character, (Field, no. 901.)

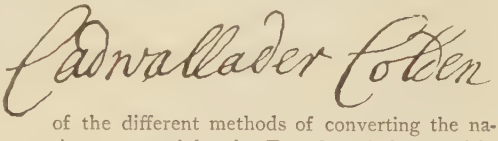
Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations* was printed by Bradford in New York in 1727, and is now very rare. Dr. Shea reprinted it in 1866, and in his introduction and notes its somewhat curious bibliographical history is learnedly traced. (Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 393, 394; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, 341; Menzies, 429, $210; Sabin, vol. v. p. 222.) The three later London editions (1747, 1750, 1755) were altered somewhat by the English publishers, without indicating the variations they introduced. (Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 847, 922, 1,049.) A portrait of Colden is given in the *Historical Magazine*, ix. 1. Sulte, in his *Mélanges*, p. 184, has an essay on the respective positions of the Iroquois and Algonquins previous to the coming of the Europeans.

D. G. Brinton, at the end of chap. i. of his *Myths of the New World*, characterizes the different writers on the mythologies of the Indians; and Mr. Parkman, *Jesuits*, etc., p. lxxxviii, notes some of the repositories of Iroquois legends.

A valuable paper on the origin of the Iroquois confederacy, by Horatio Hale, is printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 241; and Mr. C. C. Baldwin has a paper on the Iroquois in Ohio in the *Western Reserve Historical Society*, no. 40, and another paper on the early Indian migrations, in no. 47. Mr. Hale has further extended our knowledge by the curious learning of his *Iroquois Book of Rites*, Cincinnati, 1883; and he also printed in the *American Antiquarian*, January and April, 1883 (also separately Chicago, 1883), a scholarly paper on *Indian Migrations as evidenced by Language*.

So far as relates to the more easterly tribes coming within the range of the Jesuits' influence, Parkman's description can be compared with the plain matter-of-fact enumerations which make up the picture in Palfrey's *New England*, which are derived from authorities enumerated in his notes. See various papers in the *Canadian Journal*.

The general historians of New France necessarily give more or less attention to the study of the Indians as the Jesuits found them; and such a study is an integral part of Dr. George E. Ellis's learned monograph, *The Red Man and the White Man in North America*, whose account



of the different methods of converting the natives, pursued by the French and the English, may be compared with that in Archbishop Spalding's *Miscellanea*, i. 333.

[In the enumeration below the initials of the repositories of copies signify: **C.**, Library of Congress; **CB.**, Carter-Brown Library, Providence; **F.**, Mrs. J. F. Fisher, Alverthorpe, Penn.; **GB.**, Hon. George Bancroft, Washington; **HC.**, Harvard College; **J.**, Jesuits' College, Georgetown, D.C.; **K.**, Charles H. Kalbfleisch, New York; **L.**, Lenox Library, N.Y.; **M.**, the late Henry C. Murphy, Brooklyn, L.I.; **OHM.**, O. H. Marshall, Buffalo; **NY.**, New York State Library, Albany; **SJ.**, St. John's College, Fordham, N.Y.; **V.**, Catholic Bishop of Vincennes, Indiana.

Space is not taken in these notes to give full titles nor exhaustive collations, which can be found in the authorities referred to, the figures following them being to *numbers;* but the references to the *Lenox Contributions* is necessarily to pages.]

1580. — The Lenox bibliography begins the series of allied works with *A Shorte and briefe narration of the two Navigations and Discoveries to the northweast partes, called Newe France*, London, 1580. Harrisse, *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, no. 5.

1605. — De Monts' Commission. See chapter iv.

1609. — *Coppie d' une lettre envoyée de la Nouvelle France, par le Sieur Cõbes*, Lyons. (Harrisse, no. 20; Lenox, p. 3; Sabin, xiii. no. 56,083.) Dated "Brest-en-Canada, 13 Février, 1608." The Carter-Brown *Catalogue* (vol. ii. no. 80) shows only a manuscript copy. Brunet speaks of a single copy, sold and bought for America.

1610. — *La Conversion des Savages . . . baptizés en la Nouvelle France*, Paris. Harrisse, no. 21; Lenox, p. 3; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 99.

1610. — *Lettre missive, touchant la conversion . . . du grand Sagamos*, Paris. Lenox, p. 3; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 103 (manuscript only.)

1611. — *Missio Canadensis. Epistola ex Portu-regali in Acadia.* This is a reprint, made for Dr. O'Callaghan at Albany in 1870 (25 copies), following the letter as given in the *Annuæ litteræ Societatis Jesu*, 1611 and 1612. (Cf. Lenox, p. 18; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 119.) Carayon says that this Annual extends from 1581 (imprint, 1583) to 1614; and then again, 1650–1654. There are incomplete sets in the Harvard College and Carter-Brown libraries. From the same source Dr. O'Callaghan also reprinted *Relatio rerum gestarum in Nova Francia*, 1613, which relates to Biard's mission.

1613. — *Contract d' association des Jésuites au trafique de Canada*, Lyons. (Harrisse, no. 28.) Tross's reprint on vellum (12 copies only) is in the Lenox (p. 4) and Carter-Brown (vol. ii. no. 148) Collections.

1611–1613. — *Canadicæ Missionis Relatio ab anno 1611 usque ad annum 1613, auctore Josepho Juvencio.* Dr. O'Callaghan's reprint, no. 4. (O'Callaghan, no. 1,980; Lenox, p. 18.)

1612. — *Relation dernière de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du Sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France*, Paris. A description of the voyage of Biard and Masse from Dieppe, Jan. 26, 1611. (Cf. Harrisse, no. 26.)

COPY: HC.

Upon this early mission, see Carayon, *Première mission des Jésuites au Canada, lettres et documents inédits*, Paris, 1864. (Sabin, vol. iii. no. 10,792.) These letters and others are cited by Harrisse, nos. 397–400, 404–406. (Cf. Parkman's *Pioneers*, p. 263.) Charlevoix (Shea's ed., p. 87) cites Juvency's *Historiæ Societatis Jesu pars quinta*, book xv., Rome, 1710, as elucidating events in Acadia in 1611. (Harrisse, no. 402.) For the trading relations of the Jesuits, see Lescarbot (1618), p. 665; Champlain (1632), p. 100, and references in Harrisse, no. 28, and Parkman's *Old Régime*, p. 328. These early Acadian missions are treated in the *Catholic World*, xii. 628, 826; xxii. 666, and in *Historical Magazine*, xv. 313, 391; xvi. 41.

The subject of the Capuchins and other Catholics on the Maine coast at an early date is followed in *Historical Magazine*, viii. 301, and in *Maine Historical Collections*, i. 323. Cf. Poor's *Gorges*, p. 98.

1613–1614. — *Relatio rerum gestarum in Nova-Francia Missione annis 1613 et 1614.* Lugduni. No. 6 of Dr. O'Callaghan's reprints, Albany, 1871. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 170; O'Callaghan, no. 1,250; Lenox, p. 19.

1616. — *Relation de la Nouvelle France . . . faicte par le P. Pierre Biard*, Lyons. Chaps. i. to viii. are on the country and its inhabitants. Chap. xi. is on the arrival of the Jesuits in 1611; and in Harrisse's opinion, it constitutes a reply to the *Factum escrit et publié contre les Jésuites*, — a publication of which we can find no other trace. It also describes the labors of the missionaries and the cruelties of Argall. See chap. iv.

See Harrisse, no. 30, on the question of an earlier edition in 1612. The Supplément of Brunet calls this 1612 edition spurious. (Carayon, p. 178; Lenox, p. 4, for a copy, with title in fac-simile by Pilinski, which yet cost 1,000 francs, as per Leclerc, no. 2,482.) A reprint, "presque en fac-simile," was made at Albany in 1871 from a copy owned by Rufus King, of Jamaica, L. I. The Carter-Brown (vol. ii. no. 178) has only this fac-simile, and it is noted in O'Callaghan, nos. 1,207, 1,971, where it is stated only twenty-five were printed, at $25 per copy.

1626. — *Coppie de la lettre escripte par le R. P. Denys Jamet, Commissaire des PP. Recollestz de Canada.* Dated Quebec, Aug. 15, 1626.

REFERENCES: Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 315. Dr. Shea thinks the date should be 1620. It is from Sagard, p. 58.

1626. — *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France*, 1626. *Envoyée au Père Hierosme L' Allemant par Charles L' Allemant.* Paris, 1629. Reprinted (no. 7) in O'Callaghan's series, from the text in *Mercure François*, vol. xiii.

REFERENCES: Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 351; O'Callaghan, nos. 1,210, 1,250, 1,982; Lenox, p. 19. Le Clercq doubts L'Allemant's authorship; but see Shea's *Le Clercq*, i. 329.

1627. — *Lettre du Père Charles l'Allemant, Supérieur de la mission de Canadas*, Paris, 1627. It bears date Aug. 1, 1626.

REFERENCES: Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,680; Harrisse, no. 41; Faribault, no. 361; Ternaux, no. 496; Carayon, p. 179; Lenox, p. 4; O'Callaghan, no. 1,250.

It was reprinted in 1871 in O'Callaghan's series. (Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 328; O'Callaghan, no. 1,208.) It first appeared in the *Mercure François*, xiii. 1. This last publication appeared in Paris, 1611–1646, in twenty-three volumes, and contains much illustrative of these early missions. There are sets of the *Mercure* in the Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, Carter-Brown, Boston Public libraries, etc. The reprint of L'Allemant's *Lettre* in the Quebec edition of the *Relations*, follows the text of the *Mercure*, which corresponds, as is not always the case of these early *Relations*, with the contemporary separate text, as Mr. Lenox has pointed out in the *Historical Magazine*, iii. 19. Carayon, in his *Première Mission*, translates from another letter of L' Allemant, preserved at Rome, and of the

same date, another account of these early Jesuit labors, which he sent to Père Vitelleschi. L'Allemant's name in the contemporary publications is spelled with a single or double *l*, indifferently.

Another of O'Callaghan's series (Albany, 1870), was *Copie de trois Lettres escrittes en* 1625 *et* 1626 *par le P. Charles Lallemand.* O'Callaghan, nos. 1,209, 1,250; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 316.

1629. — *Lettre du Rev. Père l'Allemand au Rev. Père Supérieur du Collège des Jésuites à Paris, 22 Novembre,* 1629. It is found in Champlain's *Voyages*, and a reprint (no. 3) is in O'Callaghan's series, Albany, 1870. O'Callaghan, nos. 1,250, 1,979; Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,681; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 390; Carayon, p. 179; Lenox, p. 18. It is translated in Shea's *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness.*

[The regular series of so-called RELATIONS, addressed to the Provincial of the order in France, begins here.]

1632. — LE JEUNE. *Brieve Relation du Voyage de la Nouvelle France, fait au mois d'Avril dernier, par le P. Paul le Jeune.* Paris, 1632. Pages 68, one leaf for the Privilege.

CONTENTS: The arrival and reinstatement of the order in Quebec, with notices of the natives.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,260; Harrisse, no. 49; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,946. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 381, with fac-simile of title.

COPIES: **CB., GB., M.** Others in the Arsenal and National Libraries at Paris, etc.

It was reprinted in the *Mercure François* for 1633.

1633. — LE JEUNE. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année* 1633. Paris, 1634. Pages 216 and Privilege, with a cupid in the vignette, and errors of pagination. A second issue has a ram's head for a vignette, and some typographical variations. These vignettes are at the top of p. 3; that with two storks is on the title-page.

CONTENTS: Champlain's arrival, and that of Brebeuf and Masse; Le Jeune's difficulties with the native language.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,261; Harrisse, nos. 55, 56; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,947–48; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 417; O'Callaghan, no. 1,212. (2d issue).

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC.** (3d issue), **M.**

There is an abridgment in the *Mercure François* for 1633.

1634. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . en l'année* 1634. Paris, 1635. Pages 4, 342, with pp. 321–22 numbered 323–24. A second issue corrects p. 321, but makes 337 to be 339.

CONTENTS: Champlain's Domestic Life; Labors of Missionaries; Habits of Indians, and (chap. 9) Account of their Languages; Le Jeune's Journal, August, 1633, to April, 1634, while he was living with the savages.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,263. Harrisse, nos. 60, 61; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,949; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 307; Lenox, p. 4; O'Callaghan, no. 1,235; Harrassowitz (1882), 180 marks.

COPIES: **CB., F., GB., HC., K., L.** (1st ed.), **M.**

1635. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . en l'année* 1635. Paris, 1636. Pages 4, 246, 2.

CONTENTS: Report, dated August 28, 1635, ending on p. 112; Report from the Huron country by Brebeuf, with "divers sentimens." Report from Cape Breton by Perrault.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,264; Harrisse, nos. 58, 63; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 436; Lenox, p. 5; Sabin, vol. x. nos. 39,950, 39,951; O'Callaghan, no. 1,214; Leclerc, no. 778 (140 francs). Priced (1883), $50.

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., L., M., OHM.**

1635. — LE JEUNE. *Relation,* etc. Avignon, 1636.

CONTENTS: Same as the Paris edition.

REFERENCES: Harrisse, no. 64; Lenox, p. 5.

COPIES: The Lenox *Contributions* claims its copy as the only one now known; if so, a third edition is represented in a defective copy noted in O'Callaghan, no. 1,215.

1636. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . en l'année* 1636. Paris, 1637. Pages 8, 272, 223.

CONTENTS: Report; Death of Champlain, etc.; Brebeuf's Huron report, with account of the language, customs, etc.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,265; Harrisse, no. 65; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,952; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 446; Lenox, p. 5; Harrassowitz, 1883 (125 marks).

COPIES: **CB., HC., K., L.** It does not appear whether copies **GB., M., OHM.**, and **V.** are of this or of the following edition.

1636. — LE JEUNE. *Relation,* etc. Paris, 1637. Pages 199 in smaller type than the preceding edition; the Huron report sometimes wanting, though mentioned in the title, while it was not mentioned in the preceding edition; but Sobolewski describes a copy which has this Huron report, occupying 163 pages.

REFERENCES: Harrisse, no. 66; Lenox, p. 5.

1637. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . en l'année* 1637. Rouen, 1638. Pages 10,336 (pp. 193–196 omitted in paging), 256, with vignette of I. H. S. supported by two angels on the title. A second issue has the I. H. S. surrounded by rays, and there are other typographical changes in the title only. A folding woodcut of fireworks between pp. 18 and 19.

CONTENTS: Report about the missions and the Huron Seminary near Quebec; Report by Lemercier from the Huron country, dated 1637.

REFERENCES: Harrisse, nos. 67, 68; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,953; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 457; Lenox, p. 5; O'Callaghan, no. 1,216; Harrassowitz, 1880 (150 francs); Leclerc, 779 (200 francs).

COPIES: **CB., HC., K., M., OHM., L.** (both varieties).

Harrisse, p. xiv, says the oldest original document he has found is a memorandum of a gift, August 16, 1637, by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon to the Réligieuses Hospitalières of Quebec (cf. also his no. 457).

1638. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . en l'année* 1638. Paris, 1638. Pages 4, 78, 2, 68. A second edition has pp. 4, 78, 76. Harrisse says it is distinguishable by the last page being marked 67, correctly, and page 39 of the Huron report having the word *fidelle* instead of *fidèle;* but the whole volume is reset.

CONTENTS: Report, — Failure of the Huron Seminary; Persecution of the Fathers; Lemercier's Report from the Huron Country, 1637–38, with account of Lunar Eclipse, December, 1637.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,267; Harrisse, nos. 69, 70; Sabin, vol. x. nos. 39,954, 39,955; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 458; Lenox, p. 5; O'Callaghan, no. 1,217; Stevens, *Bibl. Hist.*, no. 1,120; Harrassowitz, 1883 (125 marks).

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., K., L.** (both eds.), **OHM., NY.**

Harrisse, p. 62, says a Latin version is included "dans le recueil du P. Trigaut, Cologne, 1653."

1639. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . en l'année* 1639. Paris, 1640. Pages 8, 166, 2, 174. A second edition was a page-for-page reprint, with typographical changes on almost every page. The Privilege on the first reads, *Par le Roy en son Conseil*, and is signed March 26, 1638; the word *son* is omitted in the second, and the date of this is Dec. 20, 1639.

CONTENTS: Regular Report; Huron Report, June, 1638, to June, 1639.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,268; Harrisse, nos. 74, 75; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,956; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. pp. 481, 482; Lenox, p. 6; O'Callaghan, no. 1,218; Harrassowitz, 1883 (125 marks).

COPIES: **CB.** (both eds.), **GB., HC., K., L.** (both eds.).

1640. — VIMONT. *Relation . . . en l'année* M. DC. XL. Paris, 1641. Pages 8, 197, 3, 196; but 191 and 192 are repeated.

CONTENTS: Report on the State of the Colony and the Missions; Report from the Huron Country by Hierosme Lalemant, mentioning a map of the Western country by Ragueneau.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,269; Harrisse, no. 76; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. p. 495; Lenox, p. 6; O'Callaghan, no. 1,219; Dufossé, no. 8,660 (125 francs); Harrassowitz, 1883 (125 marks).

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., K., L., OHM.**

We derive the earliest mention of Jean Nicolet's explorations about Green Bay from this *Relation*, and what it says is translated in Smith's *Wisconsin*, vol. iii. See chapter v. of the present volume.

1640–1641. — VIMONT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1640 *et* 1641. Paris, 1642. Pages 8, 216, 104. Chap. vi. is numbered viii., and there are other irregularities.

CONTENTS: Report, — Missions News; Wars with the Iroquois; Tadousac Mission; Report from the Huron Country by Lalemant, June, 1640, to June, 1641; First mention of Niagara as Onguiaahra; a Huron Prayer interlined.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,720; Harrisse, no. 77; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. p. 509; Lenox, p. 6; O'Callaghan, no. 1,220; Harrassowitz, 1883 (100 marks). Cf. Faillon, *Hist. de la Col. Française*, vols. i. and ii., chaps. 4 and 5, on this Iroquois War.

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., K., L.** (two copies, with slight variations), **OHM.**

1642. — VIMONT. *Relation . . . en l'année* 1642. Paris, 1643. Pages 8, 191, 1, 170; pp. 76, 77, omitted in paging.

CONTENTS: Report, — Founding of Montreal; Capture of Jogues; Lunar Eclipse, April 4, 1642; Lalemant's Report from the Huron Country, June, 1641, to June, 1642.

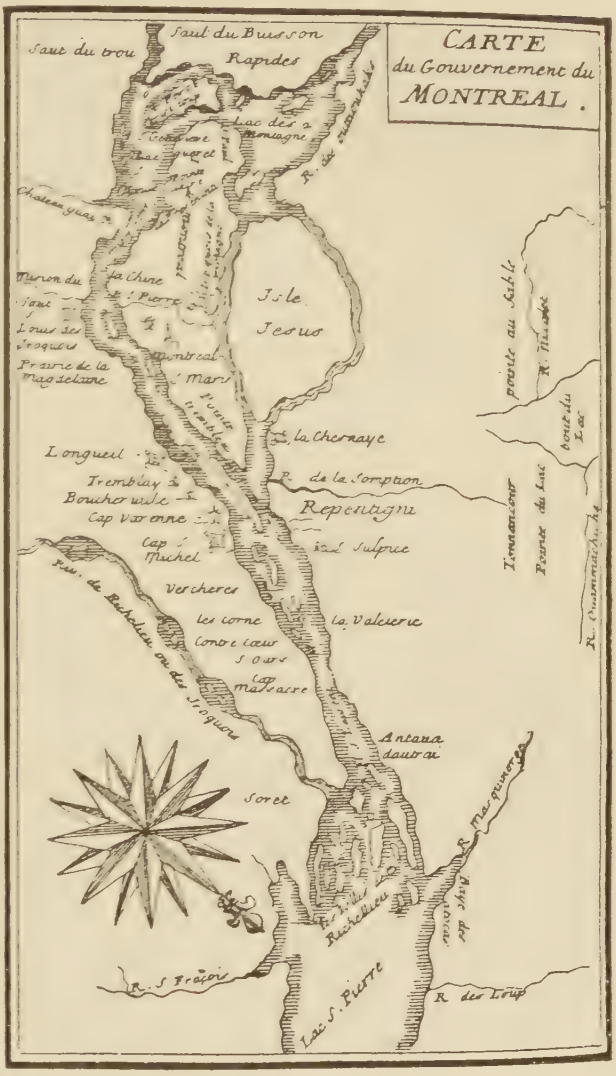
REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,271; Harrisse, no. 80; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 528; Lenox, p. 6; O'Callaghan, no. 1,221; Harrassowitz, 1883 (125 marks); Dufossé, 1878 (180 francs).

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., K., L., M., NY., V.**

On Jogues' exploration to the Sault Ste. Marie, see Margry, *Découvertes*, i. 45; Shea's *Charlevoix*, i. 137.

For references on the founding and early history of Montreal, see Harrisse, p. 79. The Abbé Faillon's *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*, Paris, 1865–1866, three volumes, with maps, pertains chiefly to Montreal, and was left incomplete at the author's death. He derives new matter from the public archives in France, goes over afresh the whole history of Champlain's career, and throws light on points left dark by Charlevoix and the earlier narrators, and is in some respects the best of the recent French historians; but Parkman (*Jesuits*, p. 193) cautions us that his partisan character as an ardent and prejudiced Sulpitian should be well kept in mind (cf. Field, p. 518; and chap. vii. of the present volume). Dollier de Casson's *Histoire de Montréal*, 1640–1672, is a manuscript in the Mazarin Library in Paris, of which Mr. Parkman has a copy. It was printed in 1871 by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in the third series of their historical documents. Parkman refers to (*Jesuits*, p. 209), and gives extracts from, *Les véritables Motifs . . . de la Société de Notre Dame de Montréal pour la Conversion des Sauvages*, which was published in 1643 as a defence against aspersions of the "Hundred Associates." It was probably printed at Paris. A copy some years since passed into an American collection at 800 francs. A transcript of a copy, collated by Margry, was used in the reprint issued in the *Mémoires de la Société historique de*

Montreal, in 1880, under the editing of the Abbé Verreau, who attributes it to Olier, while Faillon has ascribed it to Laisné de la Marguerie. The editor adds some important "notices bibliographiques et documentaires;" some "notes historiques par le Commandeur Viger," from an unpublished work, — *Le Petit Registre;* a "liste des premiers Colons de Montreal." Of the older authorities, Le Clercq and Charlevoix (Shea's edition, note, ii. 129) are useful; but Charlevoix, as Parkman says, was not partial to Montreal. The Société historique de Montreal began in 1859 the publication of *Mémoires et Documents relatifs a l'histoire du Canada*. The first number, "Dè l'Esclavage en Canada," was the joint work of J. Viger and L. H. Lafontaine, but it has little matter falling within the present period; the second, "De la Famille des Lauson," the governor of New France after 1651, by Lafontaine, with an Appendix on the "Vice-Rois et Lieutenants Generaux des rois de France en Amerique," by R. Bellemare; the third, "Ordonances de Mr. Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, premier gouverneur de Montreal," etc; the fourth, "Règne Militaire en Canada;" the fifth, "Voyage de Dollier et Galinée." See a paper on Montreal and its founder, Maisonneuve, in the *Canadian Antiquarian*, January, 1878. Concerning the connection of M. Olier with the founding of Montreal and the schemes connected with it for the conversion of the savages, see Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, Paris, 1873, iii. 397, etc., and references there cited; and also see Faillon, *Vie de Mdlle. Mance*, Paris, 1854. and Parkman in *Atlantic Monthly*, xix. 723.



MONTREAL AND ITS VICINITY.[1]

1642–1643. — VIMONT. *Relation . . . en l'années 1642 et 1643.* Paris, 1644. Pages 8, 309, 3.

CONTENTS: Report, — Algonquin Letter, with interlinear Translation; Founding of Sillery; Tadousac; Five Letters from Père Jogues about his Captivity among the Iroquois, beginning p. 284, giving, in sub-

[1] Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, iii. 375, gives a map of Montreal preserved in the French archives, — *Plan de Villemarie et des premières rues projetées pour l'établissement de la Haute Ville.* This represents the town at about 1665. There is a fac-simile of another plan of about 1680 preserved in the library of the Canadian Parliament, the original being at Paris (*Catalogue*, 1858, p. 1,615). A plan of 1685 is given in *L'Héroïne Chrétienne du Canada, ou Vie de Mlle. le Ber, Villemarie*, 1860. Charlevoix gives a map with the old landmarks, and it is reproduced in Shea's edition, ii. 170. A later one is in La Potherie, 1753 edition, ii. 311 (given above), and one of about 1759, in Miles's *Canada*, p. 296.

THE SITE OF MONTREAL.[1]

stance only, the Latin narrative mentioned below; Declaration of the Company of New France, that the Jesuits took no part in their trade; Further notice of Nicolet's Exploration towards the Mississippi.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,272; Harrisse, no. 81; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 552; Lenox, p. 6; O'Callaghan, no. 1,222.

COPIES: **CB., F., GB., HC., L.** (two copies, slightly different), **M., SJ., V.**

Nicolet's explorations, which have usually been put in 1638–39, were fixed by Sulté in 1634; cf. his *Mélanges*, Ottawa, 1876, and Draper's annotations in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, viii. 188, and *Canadian Antiquarian*, viii. 157. This view is sustained in C. W. Butterfield's *Jean Nicolet*, Cincinnati, 1881. Cf. Margry, *Découvertes*, i. 47; Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, and the modern writers, — Parkman, *La Salle*; Harrisse, *Notes*; Margry, in *Journal de l'Instruction publique*, 1862; Gravier, *La Salle*, etc. See also chap. v. of the present volume.

[1] From Lescarbot's map of 1609, showing the Mountain and the Indian town, Hochelaga, the site of Montreal. Newton Bosworth's *Hochelaga Depicta* was published in Montreal in 1839.

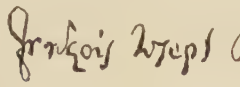
1643–1644. — VIMONT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1643 *et* 1644. Paris, 1645. Pages 8, 256, 4, 147 (marked 174).

CONTENTS: Report, giving account of the Capture of Father Bressani; Huron Report by Hierosme Lalemant; War of the Five Nations against the Hurons.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,273; Harrisse, no. 83; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 576; Lenox, p. 6 O'Callaghan, no. 1,223. Recently priced at $50.

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., L., M., OHM.**

Father F. G. Bressani was in the country from 1642 to 1645, and in his *Breve Relatione d'alcune missioni de PP. della Compagnia di Giesu nella Nuova Francia*, Macerata, 1653, pp. iv, 127, he



gave an account of the rise and progress of the Huron mission. He promised a map and plates, but they do not appear in the copies known, of which two are in the Carter-Brown (*Catalogue*, vol. ii. no. 750) and Lenox (*Contributions*, p. 8) libraries; and others were sold in the Brinley (no. 67) and O'Callaghan (no. 1,232) sales. Cf. Carayon, p. 1317; Leclerc, no. 684 (350 francs); and Shea's *Charlevoix*, p. 80. Père Martin had to bring a copy from Rome to make his French translation, *Relation abrégée de quelques missions . . . dans la Nouvelle France*, Montreal, 1852. This version had the Creuxius map, as already stated; another of the Huron country (p. 280), and numerous notes, with a memoir of Bressani by the editor. Cf. Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 253, with references; Shea's *Charlevoix*, ii. 174, with note, and his *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness*, p. 104; O'Callaghan's *New Netherland;* Archbishop Spalding's *Miscellanea.*

The first martyr of the Huron mission was Père Antoine Daniel, killed July 4, 1648 (Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 373). Field (*Indian Bibliography*, p. 146) says some curious, though perhaps not very authentic, information regarding the Hurons can be got from Sieur Gendron's *Quelques Particularitéz du Pays des Hurons, par le Sieur Gendron*, which appeared in Davity's *Déscription Générale de l'Amerique*, edited by Jean Baptiste de Rocoles, Troyes et Paris, 1660, and was reprinted in New York in 1868. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 873; Lenox, p. 18; and Field, no. 598. A fac-simile of a corner map in Creuxius's larger map, giving the Huron country, is given herewith. Parkman also gives a modern map with the missions and villages marked, and tells the fate of this people after their dispersement, at the end of his *Jesuits*. See *Canadian Monthly*, ii. 409.

Dr. Shea gives the following list of martyrs among the Canadian Jesuits, with the dates of their deaths: Isaac Jogues, 1646; Antoine Daniel, 1648; Jean Brebeuf, Gabriel Lallemant, Charles Garnier, and Natalis Chabanel, 1649; Jacques Buteux, 1652; Leonard Garreau, 1656, and René Menard, 1661. And of the Sulpitians: Guillaume Vignal and Jacques Le Maître, 1661. *Les Jésuites-Martyrs du Canada*, Montreal, 1877, includes Martin's translation of Bressani's *Relation Abrégée*, and sections on the "Caractère des Sauvages et de leur pays," on their conversion, and on the "Mort de Quelqes Pères."

1644–1645. — VIMONT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1644 *et* 1645. Paris, 1646. Pages 8, 183, 1.

CONTENTS: Missions News; Incursions of the Five Nations; Letter from Lalemant about the Huron Mission, beginning on p. 136.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,274; Harrisse, no. 84; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 594; Lenox, p. 6; Dufossé, no. 8,663.

COPIES: **CB., HC., L., M., V.**

1645–1646. — HIEROSME LALEMANT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1644 *et* 1645. Paris, 1647. Pages 6, 184, 128.

CONTENTS: Report, — Missions to the Iroquois; Jogues among the Mohawks; Huron Report by Paul Ragueneau, May, 1645, to May, 1646.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,275; Harrisse, no. 86; Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,684; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 619; Lenox, p. 7; O'Callaghan, 1,224; Harrassowitz. 1883 (160 marks).

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC.** (two copies), **K., L.** (two copies), **M., NY., V.**

Masse died May 12, 1646, and this *Relation* contains an account of him.

From October, 1645, to June, 1668, there are journals of the Jesuit missionaries preserved in the archives of the Séminaire at Quebec, which give details not originally intended for the public eye, but which now form an interesting supplement to the series for the years 1645–1668, except that there is a gap between Feb. 5, 1654 and Oct. 25, 1656. These journals were printed at Quebec in 1871, as *Le Journal des Jésuites; publié par les Abbés Laverdière et Casgrain.* Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,009, where it is stated that the greater part of the edition was destroyed by fire. A continuation of this Journal was in the hands of William Smith, historian of Canada; but is now lost. The *Amer. Cath. Quarterly, U. S. Cath. Mag.*, and *The Month* contain various papers on the missions. See Poole's *Index.*

1647. — HIEROSME LALEMANT. *Relation. . . . en l'année* 1647. Paris, 1648. Pages 8, 276; paging irregular from p. 209 to p. 228. Some copies have a repeated *de* in the title.

CONTENTS: The Mission of Jogues among the Mohawks, and a narrative of his death begins p. 124; Missions among the Abenakis.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,276; Harrisse, no. 87; Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,685; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 652; Lenox, p. 7; O'Callaghan, no. 1,225; Harrassowitz, 1883 (160 marks); Dufossé, no. 5,603 (190 francs).

COPIES: **CB., F., GB., HC., J.** (two copies), **K., L.** (two copies), **M., NY., V.**

After Jogues' captivity among the Mohawks, and his mutilations, and his rescue by the Dutch, he wrote an account of *Novum Belgium* in 1643–1644, which remained in manuscript till Dr. Shea printed it with notes in 1862, as explained in a note to chap. ix. of the present volume. Jogues now went to France, but returned shortly to brave once more the perils of a missionary's life, and this second venture he did not survive. His own account of this was preserved, according to Père Martin, in the archives of the College of Quebec down to 1800, and according to Dr. Shea passed into the hands of the English Government, and was used by Smith in compiling his *History of Canada*, Quebec, 1815, and has not been seen since. "It is given apparently in substance in the Relation of 1646." — Shea's *Charlevoix*, ii. 188.

Dr. Shea also edited in English the "Jogues Papers" in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d ser., vol. iii., including the account of Jogues' captivity among the Mohawks; and he repeated the narrative in his *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness*, p. 16. The original is a Latin letter, dated Rennselaerswyck, Aug. 5, 1643, of which there is a sworn copy preserved at Montreal, which differs somewhat from the printed copy as given in Alegambe's *Mortes illustres*, Rome, 1667, p. 616 (Carayon, no. 79); and in Tanner's *Societas Jesu*, Prague, 1675; and the German translation of it, *Die Gesellschaft Jesu*, Prague, 1683. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. nos. 1,136, 1,274; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, 1,530; Stevens, *Bibliotheca Hist.* 2,017. The letter is badly translated in Bressani's *Breve Relatione*, p. 77, but Martin gives it better in his version of Bressani (p. 188). Details, more or less full, can be found in Andrada's *Claros Varones*, Madrid, 1666; Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, pp. 338, 378; the Dutch *Church History* of Hazart, vol. iv.; Barcia, *Ensayo Chronologico*, Madrid, 1723, p. 205; Carayon, *Première Mission;* the Bishop of Buffalo's *Missions in Western New York*, Buffalo, 1862; and of course in Ferland, Parkman (*Jesuits*, pp. 106, 211, 217, 304), and the other modern historians. A portrait of Jogues is given in Shea's edition of the *Novum Belgium*, and in his *Charlevoix*, ii. 141.

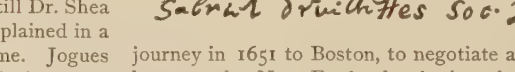
1647–1648. — HIEROSME LALEMANT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1647 *et* 1648. Paris, 1649. Pages 8, 158, blank leaf, 135.

CONTENTS: Dreuillettes among the Abenakis; Huron Country Report by Ragueneau, with accounts of the Great Lakes and the Native Tribes upon them; The Five Nations; The Delawares (Andastes); New Sweden, Niagara Falls, etc.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,277; Harrisse, no. 89; Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,686; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 673; Lenox, p. 7; O'Callaghan, no. 1,226; Sunderland, vol. iii. no. 7,218.

COPIES: **CB., HC., K., L.** (2 copies), **M., NY., V.**

Father Gabriel Dreuillettes, in the interest of the Abenakis mission, subsequently made a



journey in 1651 to Boston, to negotiate a league between the New England colonies, the Canadian authorities and the Abenakis against the Iroquois. The papers appertaining were recovered by Dr. Shea and printed in New York in 1866, as *Recueil de Pièces sur la Négociation entre la Nouvelle France et la Nouvelle Angleterre ès années* 1648 *et suivantes.* A Latin letter from Dreuillettes to Winthrop, which makes a part of this book, had earlier been printed separately in 1864 by Dr. Shea, and again in 1869. The original manuscript was found among the Winthrop Papers, and is now in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. (Field, *Indian Bibliography*, pp. 460, 461; Sabin, vol. v. p. 536; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d ser., iii. 303.) Mr. Lenox also, still earlier, privately printed at Albany in 1855, after the original, "déposé parmi les papiers du Bureau des Biens des Jésuites à Québec," Dreuillettes' *Narré du Voyage* (60 copies),

as copied by Dr. Shea. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 713; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 34; xi. 152; Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay*, i. 166; his *Collection of Papers*, p. 166; *Plymouth Colonial Records*, ix. 199; Parkman's *Jesuits*, pp. 324, 330, and his references; Shea's *Charlevoix*, i. 228, and ii. 214; Hazard's *Collection*, ii. 183, 184; and *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix. 6. The letter of the Council of Quebec and the commission given to the envoys sent to Boston, are also in *Massachusetts Archives; Documents Collected in France*, ii. 67, 69, where will also be found (iii. 21) a letter, dated Quebec, April 8, 1681, on the life and death of Druillettes.

1648–1649. — PAUL RAGUENEAU. *Relation . . . ès années* 1648 *et* 1649. Paris, 1650. Pages 8, 103. There was a second issue, with larger vignette on title, and some additional pages to the Huron report, pp. 4, 114, 2.

CONTENTS: Text signed by J. H. Chaumonot; the Huron mission; chaps. 4 and 5 give biographies of Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, killed by the Iroquois.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,278; Harrisse, nos. 90, 91; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. nos. 695, 696; Lenox, p. 7; O'Callaghan, no. 1,228; Dufossé, 1880 (180 francs). Harrassowitz, 1883 (160 marks). The second issue was recently priced in New York at $60.

COPIES: **CB.** (both editions), **GB.** (first), **J.** (first), **K.** (second), **L.** (both), **M.** (first), **OHM.** (both).

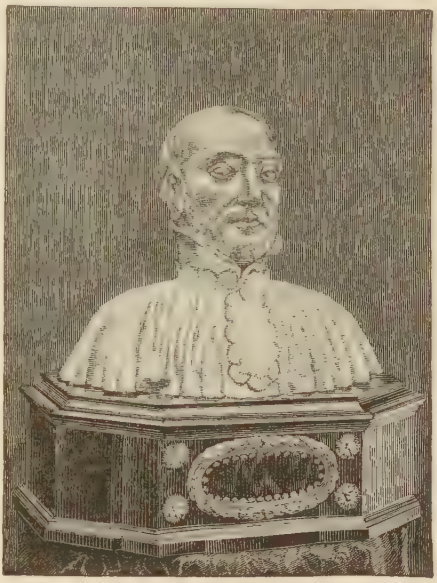
1648–1649. — RAGUENEAU. *Relation*, etc. . . . Lille, 1650. Pages 121, 3. Follows the first Paris edition, but is of smaller size.

REFERENCES: Harrisse, no. 92; Lenox, p. 7.
COPIES: **HC., L.**

1648–1649. — RAGUENEAU. *Narratio Historica . . .* Œniponti, 1650. Pages 24, 232, 3. A Latin translation by G. Gobat, somewhat abridged, and differently divided into chapters; smaller than the preceding edition.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,316; Harrisse, no. 93; Ternaux, no. 703; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 690; Lenox, p. 7; O'Callaghan, no. 1,227. Rich, 1832 (15 shillings).
COPIES: **CB., HC., L.**

Further accounts of the martyrdom of Brebeuf and Lalemant will be found in most of the works mentioned under 1647, in connection with Jogues. Cf. also the *Mercure de France*, 1649, pp. 997–1,008; *Catholic World*, xiii. 512, 623; Le Père Martin's *Le P. Jean de Brebeuf, sa vie, ses travaux, son Martyre*, Paris, 1877; Harrisse, p. 88; Shea's *Charlevoix*,, ii. 221, where is an engraving of a silver portrait bust of Brebeuf, sent by his relatives from Paris to enclose his skull (cf. Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 389), which is still preserved at Quebec. The accompanying engraving is made from a photograph kindly lent by Mr. Parkman. There are other engravings in Shea's *Catholic Mission*, in his *Charlevoix*, ii. 221; and in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 171.



1649–1650. — RAGUENEAU. *Relation . . . depuis l'Esté de la année* 1649 *jusques à l'Esté de l'année* 1650. Paris, 1651. Pages 4, 178 (marked 187), 2. Page 171 has tailpiece of fruits. A second issue has typographical variations, with no tailpiece on p. 171, and on p. 178 a letter from the "Supérieure de l'Hospital de la Miséricorde de Kebec."

CONTENTS: Ragueneau's letter begins p. 1; Lalemant's, p. 172; Letters of Buteux and De Lyonne; Huron Mission; Murders of Garnier and Noel Chabanel; Iroquois defeat of the Hurons, and a remnant of the latter colonized near Quebec.

REFERENCES: Carayon, nos. 1,279, 1,280; Harrisse, nos. 95, 96; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 719; Lenox, p. 8; Brinley, p. 139; Harrassowitz, 1883 (250 marks).

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC.** (first edition), **K., L.** (both), **M., NY.**

Shea, *Charlevoix*, ii. 231, and Parkman, *Jesuits*, pp. 101, 406, 407, give references for Garnier. Cf. Bressani, *Breve Relatione*, and Martin's translation of Bressani, for a table of thirty Jesuit and Recollect missionaries among the Hurons. Margry's *Découvertes*, etc., Part I., is on "Les Récollets dans le pays des Hurons, 1646–1687."

Parkman, *Jesuits*, pp. 402, 430, saying that this Relation is the principal authority for the retreat

of the Hurons to Isle St. Joseph, etc., gives other references.

1650–1651. — RAGUENEAU. *Relation . . . ès années* 1650 *et* 1651. Paris, 1652. Pages 4, 146, 1.

CONTENTS: French Settlements and the Missions. A letter signed Martin Lyonne begins p. 139.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,281; Harrisse, no. 97; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 740; Lenox, p. 8; O'Callaghan, no. 1,229; Harrassowitz, 1883 (120 marks).

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., K., L., M., NY.**

1651–1652. — RAGUENEAU. *Relation . . . depuis l'été de l'année* 1651 *jusques à l'été de l'année* 1652. Paris, 1653. Pages 8, 200.

CONTENTS: Chap. i. gives an account of the death of Buteux; Chap. ix., War with the Iroquois; Chap. x., Biography of La Mère Marie de Saint Joseph.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,282; Harrisse, no. 98; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 756; Lenox, p. 8; O'Callaghan, no. 1,231; Harrassowitz, 1883 (120 marks).

COPIES: **CB., HC.** (two copies), **K., L., V.**

The account of the Réligieuses Ursulines of Canada in this Relation was repeated, with additions, in pp. 229–315 of *La Gloire de S. Ursule*, Valenciennes, 1656. Cf. Harrisse, p. 106; Lenox, p. 8; also *Les Ursulines de Québec*, and Saint Foi's *Premières Ursulines de France*.

An account of the missions "in Canada sive Nova Francia" is the first section of the *Progressus fidei Catholicæ in novo orbe*, published at Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1653. The book is very rare; the only copy noted is in the Carter-Brown Collection, vol. ii. no. 758. The *Lenox Contribution*, p. 8., says there was a copy in O'Callaghan's Collection, but I fail to find it in his sale catalogue; cf. Harrisse, p. 99.

Josephus Poncet Soc.ti Jesu

1652–1653. — FRANÇOIS LEMERCIER. *Relation . . . depuis l'été de l'année* 1652 *jusques à l'été de l'année* 1653. Paris, 1654. Pages 4, 184, 4.

CONTENTS: Montreal; Three Rivers; Poncet captured by the Mohawks; Fort Orange; Peace with the Iroquois.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,283; Harrisse, no. 101; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,992; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 775; Lenox, p. 8; O'Callaghan, no. 1,233; Harrassowitz, 1883 (120 marks).

COPIES: **CB., HC., K., L., M., OHM.**

Montreal was organized as a colony in 1653. Cf. Faillon, vol. ii. chap. 10.

1653–1654. — LEMERCIER. *Relation . . . ès années* 1653 *et* 1654. Paris, 1655. Pages 4, 176.

CONTENTS: Negotiations with the Five Nations; Le Moyne at Onondaga; Treaty of Peace, and Discovery of Salt Springs; Letter from the Hurons at the Isle d'Orléans, with a translation.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,284; Harrisse, no. 103; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,993; Lenox, p. 8; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 799; O'Callaghan, no. 1,234; Harrassowitz, 1883 (120 marks); *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, i. 33.

COPIES: **CB., F., HC., J., K., L., M., OHM., NY.**

Cf. L. P. Tarcotte's *Histoire de l'ile Orléans*, Quebec, 1867, and N. H. Bowen's *Isle of Orleans*, 1860.

1655. — *Copie de deux Lettres envoiées de la Nouvelle France.* Paris, 1656. Pages 28. The bearer of the Relation of this year was robbed in France, and only these two letters were recovered and printed. It, with the *Relation* of 1660, is the rarest of the series.

REFERENCES: Harrisse, nos. 108, 425; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 813; Lenox, p. 9; O'Callaghan, no. 1,974.

COPIES: Those in **L.** and in the Ste. Geneviève at Paris are the only ones known.

Mr. Lenox printed a fac-simile edition from his own copy, with double titles, showing variations; and of this there are copies in **CB., HC.**, etc.

1655–1656. — JEAN DE QUENS. *Relation . . . ès Années* 1655 *et* 1656. Paris, 1657. Pages 6, 168.

CONTENTS: A Letter signed by De Quens; Le Moyne among the Mohawks; The French at Onondaga; War between the Five Nations and Eries; Ottawas at Quebec; Murder of Garreau.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,285; Harrisse, no. 109; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 826; Lenox, p. 9; O'Callaghan, no. 1,237.

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., L., M.**

Cf. Tailhan, *Mémoires sur Perrot*, p. 229; and the references in Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. ii. Parkman says Perrot is in large part incorporated in La Potherie; cf. *Historical Magazine*, ix. 205.

1656–1657. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . ès années mil six cents cinquante six et mil six cens cinquante sept.* Paris, 1658. Pages 12, 211.

CONTENTS: Begins with a Letter signed by Le Jeune; The Senecas and the French; Mission to the Cayugas; Dupuis and the Jesuits among the Onondagas; Le Moyne among the Mohawks; Customs of the Five Nations; Chap. xxi. has a Letter signed by Le Mercier.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,280; Harrisse, no. 110; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,957; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 839; Lenox, p. 9; O'Callaghan, no. 1,238; Harrassowitz, 1883 (125 marks). Recently priced at $60.

COPIES: **CB., GB., HC., K., L., NY.**

Simon Le moyne S. J.

1657–1658. — RAGUENEAU. *Relation . . . ès années* 1657 *et* 1658. Paris, 1659. Pages 8, 136. Martin holds that this volume was made up in Paris.

CONTENTS: Two Letters from Ragueneau; French Settlements at Onondaga abandoned; Journal, 1655-

1658, dated New Holland, March 25, 1658, and signed Simon Le Moine; Routes to Hudson's Bay; Comparison of savage and European Customs.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,287; Harrisse, no. 112; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 859; Lenox, p. 9.

COPIES: **CB., L., M., NY.**

On the French missions in New York, see Marie de l'Incarnation, *Lettres historiques*: Parkman's *Old Régime*, chap. i.; O'Callaghan's *New Netherland;* Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. iii.; J. V. H. Clark's *Onondaga* (Syracuse, 1849); Charles Hawley's *Early Chapters of Cayuga History, with the Jesuit Missions in Goi-o-gouen*, 1656–1684 (Auburn, 1879), with an Introduction by Dr. Shea. This last book has a map of the Iroquois territory and the mission sites, by J. S. Clark (reproduced on an earlier page).

1659. — LALLEMANT. *Lettres envoiées de la Nouvelle France.* Paris, 1660. Pages 49, 3.

CONTENTS: Arrival of a Bishop; Algonquin and Huron Missions; Acadia Mission. The three letters are dated, respectively, Sept. 12, Oct. 10, Oct. 16, 1659.

REFERENCES: Harrisse, no. 113; Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,683; Lenox, p. 9; O'Callaghan, no. 1,236.

COPIES: From what was supposed to be a unique copy (since burned in 1854), in the Parliamentary Library at Quebec, Mr. Lenox had a fac-simile made, from which he afterward printed, in 1854, his fac-simile edition; but Harrisse has since reported two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris. Harrassowitz, in his *Rarissima Americana*, no. 91, p. 5, notes a copy at 2,500 marks, which is now in Mr. Kalbfleisch's Collection.

De Laval landed at Quebec June 6, 1659, having been made Bishop of Petra and Vicar Apostolic of New France the previous year. He became Bishop of Quebec in 1674; resigned

in 1688, and died in 1708. Parkman draws a distinct picture of his character in his *Old Régime*, chap. v., and describes his appearance from several portraits which are extant, one of which is engraved in Shea's *Le Clercq*, ii. p. 50. A Life of him, by La Tour, was printed at Cologne in 1761; and an *Esquisse de la vie*, etc., at Quebec, in 1845. Two other publications are of interest: *Notice sur la fête à Quebec le* 16 *Juin*, 1859, *200eme anniversaire de l'arrivée de Laval*, Quebec, 1859, and *Translation des Restes de Laval*, Quebec, 1878. Cf. Faillon, *Hist. de la Colonie Française*, ii. chap. 13, and Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 20, for references. In 1874 the second centennial of Laval's becoming bishop was commemorated in a *Notice biographique*, by E. Langevin, "suivie de quarante-une lettres et notes historiques sur le Chapitre de la Cathédrale," published at Montreal, 1874.

The Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame were founded this year at Montreal, and the life of the foundress, Margaret Bourgeois, by Montgolfier, was published in Montreal in

1818; and was translated and published in English in New York in 1880. Another Life, said to be by the Abbé Faillon, was published in 1853. An earlier Life, by Ransonet, was published at Liege in 1728. Cf. Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 201, and Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. v., for her portrait.

The Abbé de Queylus, who was the candidate of the Sulpitians for the Bishopric, came over in 1657. (Faillon, ii. 271; La Tour, *Vie de Laval*, 19; Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 20; Parkman, *Old Régime*, 97.)

1659–1660. — (Not signed.) *Relation . . . ès années mil six cent cinquante neuf et mil six cent soixante.* Paris, 1661. Pages 6, 202; paging irregular in parts.

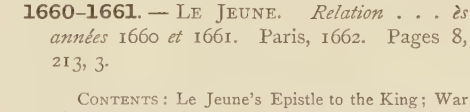
CONTENTS: Letter from Menard; Country of the Five Nations, with Census of the Tribes; Saguenay River; Hudson's Bay; Overthrow of the Hurons.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,288; Harrisse, no. 115; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 895; Lenox, p. 9; O'Callaghan, no. 1,239.

COPIES: **CB., F., GB., HC., L., M., NY.**

For the dispersal of the Hurons, see Martin's Bressani, App. p. 309; cf. Parkman's *Jesuits*.

For the part relating to traders on Lake Superior in 1658, see translation in Smith's *Wisconsin*, iii. 20; cf. Margry, i. 53. Menard's letter, Aug. 27, 1660, on the eve of his embarkation for Lake Superior, is translated in Minnesota Historical Society's *Annals*, i. 20; and *Collections*, i. 135.



1660–1661. — LE JEUNE. *Relation . . . ès années* 1660 *et* 1661. Paris, 1662. Pages 8, 213, 3.

CONTENTS: Le Jeune's Epistle to the King; War with the Iroquois; Peace with the Five Nations; Mission to Hudson's Bay; "Journal du premier Voyage fait vers la Mer du Nort," begins on page 62; Letters of Le Moyne from the Mohawk Country, and from a French Prisoner among the Mohawks.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,289; Harrisse, no. 117; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 907; Lenox, p. 10; O'Callaghan, no. 1,240; Harrassowitz, 1882 (125 marks). Recently priced in New York at $50.

COPIES: **CB., HC., K., L., NY., V.**

RELATION

DE CE QVI S'EST PASSE

DE PLVS REMARQVABLE

AVX MISSIONS DES PERES

De la Compagnie de IESVS

EN LA

NOVVELLE FRANCE,

és années 1662. & 1663.

Enuoyée au R. P. André Caſtillon, Prouincial de la Prouince de France.

A PARIS,

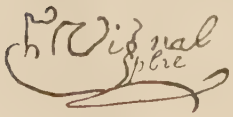
Chez SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Et SEBAST. MABRE-CRAMOISY, Imprimeurs ordinaires du Roy & de la Reine, ruë S. Iacques, aux Cicognes.

M. DC. LXIV.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY

1661–1662.—LALLEMANT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1661 *et* 1662. Paris, 1663. Pages 8, 118, 1.

CONTENTS: Letter dated Kebec, Sept. 18, 1662, signed Hierosme Lalemant; Disputes with two of the Five Nations; Murder of Vignal; Le Moyne among the Senecas.



REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,290; Harrisse, no. 119; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 929; Lenox, p. 10; O'Callaghan, no. 1,241; Quaritch, no. 12,365 (£8 10s.); Harrassowitz, 1882 (150 marks).

COPIES: CB., HC., J., K., L.

Cf. Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 45, note.

1662–1663. — LALLEMANT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1662 *et* 1663. Paris, 1664. Pages 16, 169, with some irregularity of paging.

CONTENTS: Meteorological Phenomena: Earthquake of 1663 [see Harrisse, p. 118] and Solar Eclipse, Sept. 1, 1663; War with the Iroquois; Outaouaks; Death of Menard.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,291; Harrisse, no. 121; Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,688; Lenox, p. 10; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 950; O'Callaghan, no. 1,242; Dufossé, no. 5,602 (180 francs); Harrassowitz, 1882 (120 marks). Recently priced in New York at $50.

COPIES: CB., HC., K., L., M., NY.

Cf. Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 48, 57.

Menard had established a mission at St. Theresa Bay, Lake Superior, in 1661. Cf. Smith's *Wisconsin*, vol. iii., for a translation; cf. further, on Menard, Perrot's *Mœurs des Sauvages; Historical Magazine*, viii. 175, by Dr. Shea, and his edition of *Charlevoix*, i. 49; *Minnesota Hist. Soc. Coll.*, by E. D. Neill, i. 135. Cf. J. G. Shea on the "Indian Tribes of Wisconsin," in the *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, iii. 125; and a criticism by Alfred Brunson in vol. iv. p. 227.

1663–1664. — LALLEMANT. *Relation . . . ès années* 1663 *et* 1664. Paris, 1665. Pages 8, 176, with some irregularities of paging.

CONTENTS: Missions among the Hurons, Algonquins, and Five Nations; War of the Mohawks; Iroquois Embassy to the French.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,292; Harrisse, no. 123; Sabin, vol. x. no. 38,689; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 964; Lenox, p. 10.

COPIES: CB., HC., L., M., NY.

1664–1665. — LEMERCIER. *Relation . . . ès années* 1664 *et* 1665. Paris, 1666. Pages 12, 128.

CONTENTS: M. de Tracy's Voyage; Strength of the Five Nations; Comets; Vignal's Death; Nouvel

among the Savages. What is called a second issue has in addition a "Lettre de la R. Mère Supérieure des Réligieuses Hospitalières de Kebec du 23 Octobre, 1665," 16 pp., which is not reprinted in the Quebec edition of the *Relations*. A map of Lakes Ontario, Champlain, and adjacent parts, with plans of the forts on the Richelieu River. A part of the map and plans of the forts are given herewith. Martin assigns these plans to the following *Relation*.

References: Carayon, no. 1,293; Harrisse, nos. 124, 133; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,994; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no 978; Lenox, p. 10; O'Callaghan, no. 1,243; Dufossé, no. 2,175 (200 francs).

Copies: **CB.**, **HC.**, **L.** (both issues), **M.**, **OHM.**, **NY.**

1665-1666. — Lemercier. *Relation . . . aux années mil six cent soixante cinq et mil six cent soixante six.* Paris, 1667. Pages viii, 47, 16.

Contents: Courcelles' Expedition, January, 1666, against the Oneidas and Mohawks; De Tracy's Interview with Garacontie, and his Expedition, September, 1666, against the Mohawks.

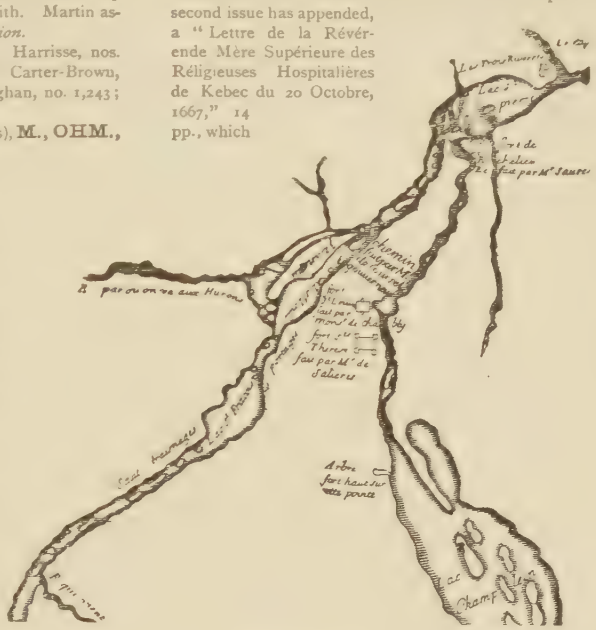
References: Carayon, no. 1,294; Harrisse, no. 126; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,995; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 992; Lenox, p. 10; Harrassowitz, 1882 (150 marks).

Copies: **CB.**, without the "Lettre." **K.**, with the "Lettre."

Harrisse says the copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Ste. Geneviève Libraries in Paris contain also a "Lettre de la Révérende Merè Supérieure des Réligieuses Hospitalières de Kebec, du 3 Octobre, 1666," 16 pp., which is called for in the contents-tables of copies in which it fails, and it is not included in the Quebec edition of the *Relations*. *Historical Magazine*, iii. 20.

1666-1667. — Lemercier. *Relation . . . les années mil six cens soixante six et mil six cens soixante sept.* Paris, 1668. Pages 8, 160, 14. The title is without the usual vignette of storks.

Contents: Allouez' Journal to Lake Superior; The Pottawatomies and other Western Tribes; Missions to the Five Nations; Thomas Morel's Account of the Wonders in the Church of St. Anne du Petit Cap. A second issue has appended, a "Lettre de la Révérende Mère Supérieure des Réligieuses Hospitalières de Kebec du 20 Octobre, 1667," 14 pp., which is omitted in the Quebec edition of the *Relations*.



THE FORTS.[1]

References: Carayon, no. 1,295; Harrisse, no. 127; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,996; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,011; Lenox, p. 11; Harrassowitz, 1882, without the "Lettre" (100 marks).

Copies: **CB.** (2d issue), **HC.** (2d issue), **J.**, **K.** (1st issue), **L.** (both), **M.**, **NY.** (1st issue), **V.**

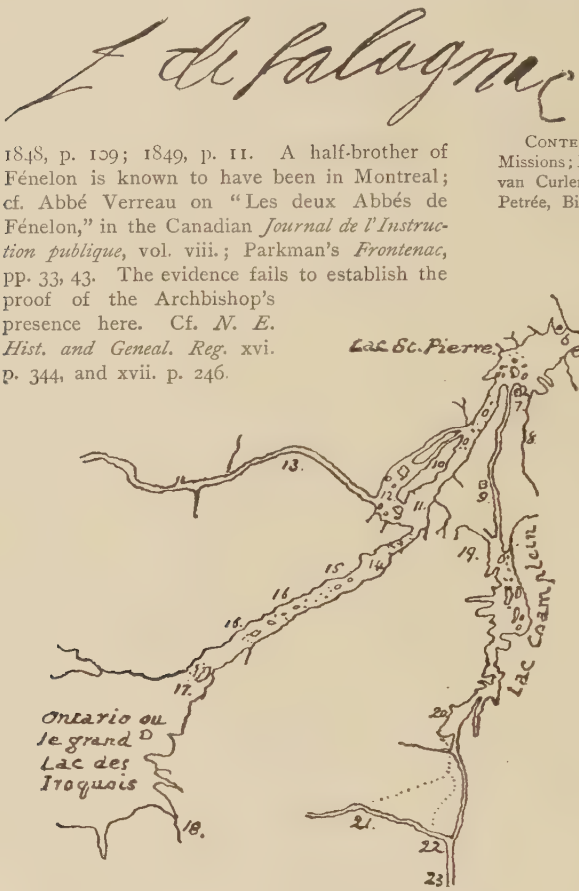
A translation of Allouez' journal is in Smith's *Wisconsin*, vol. iii.; cf. Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 101, and his *Discovery of the Mississippi*, and *Catholic Missions;* Margry's *Découvertes*, i. 57.

For the early missions in the far West, see *Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii; E. M. Sheldon's *Early History of Michigan:* Lanman's *Michigan;* James W. Taylor's *History of Ohio*. Cf. Field's *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 856, 1,398, 1,535, 1,688.

It has been claimed that Archbishop Fénelon (b. 1651) may have been a missionary

[1] A section in fac-simile of the map in the *Relation* of 1662–63, showing the position of the forts. These may be compared with the *Carte dressée pour la Campagne de* 1666, accompanied by plans of forts Richelieu, St. Louis, and Ste. Thérèse, which Talon sent with his despatch of Nov. 11, 1665, and which is engraved in Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*, iii. 125, where will also be found a map to illustrate the campaign of 1666.

among the Iroquois from 1667 to 1674; cf. Robert Greenough in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1848, p. 109; 1849, p. 11. A half-brother of Fénelon is known to have been in Montreal; cf. Abbé Verreau on "Les deux Abbés de Fénelon," in the Canadian *Journal de l'Instruction publique*, vol. viii.; Parkman's *Frontenac*, pp. 33, 43. The evidence fails to establish the proof of the Archbishop's presence here. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* xvi. p. 344, and xvii. p. 246.



TRACY'S CAMPAIGN, 1666.[1]

1667–1668. — LEMERCIER. *Relation . . . aux années mil six cens soixante-sept, et mil six cens soixante-huit.* Paris, 1669. Pages 8, 219. Has the stork vignette of the Cramoisy press on the title, and it is the last *Relation* in which that sign is used.

CONTENTS: The several Missions; Drowning of Arent van Curler; Letter of De Petrée, Bishop of Quebec; Death of the Mère Cathérine de St. Augustin.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,296; Harrisse, no 128; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,997; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,029; Lenox, p. 11.

COPIES: **CB., HC.** (2 copies) **L., M., OHM., NY.**

Père Paul Ragueneau's *La Vie de la Mère Cathérine de St. Augustin*, was published at Paris in 1671. Cf. Harrisse, no. 133; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,069; Leclerc, 1878 (500 francs). There was an Italian translation printed at Naples in 1752.

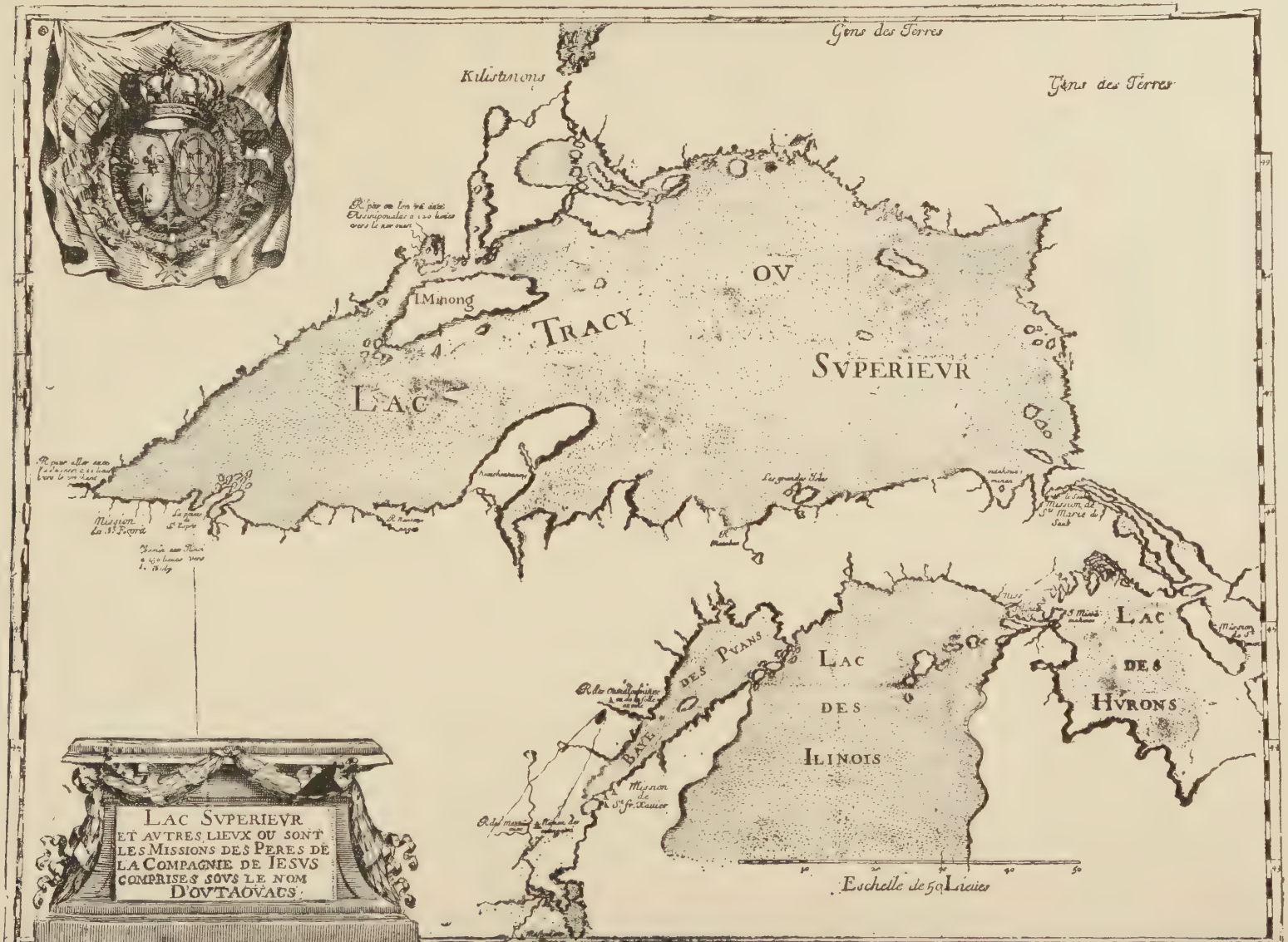
1668–1669. — (No author.) *Relation . . . les années* 1668 *et* 1669. Paris, 1670. Pages 2, 150 (last page 140 by error). The title vignette is a vase of flowers.

[1] This sketch follows the principal part of a manuscript map in Mr. Parkman's collection (No. 6) in Harvard College Library. It is called *Carte des grands lacs Ontario et Autres, et des costes de la Nouvelle Angleterre et des pays traversés par Mrs. de Tracy et Courcelles pour aller attaquer les Agnez*, 1666. Key:—

1. Saguenay.
2. Tadoussac.
3. Quebec.
4. R. du Sault de la Chaudiere.
5. R. des Etchemins.
6. Les 3 Rivières.
7. Fort de Richelieu.
8. R. St. François.
9. Fort de St. Louis.
10. Montreal.
11. Lac de St. Louis.
12. Lac des deux Montagnes.
13. Rivière par ou viennent les Outaouacs.
14. Lac St. François.
15. Sault.
16. Rapides.
17. Otondiala.
18. Ochouagen R.
19. Commencement du lac Champlain, ou est le fort Sa Anne du quel M. de Tracy escrit et est party le 4eme Octobre, 1666.
20. Lac du St. Sacrement.
21. Habitations Iroquoises que les troupes du Roy doivent attaquer. Trois villages des Agniez Iroquois.
22. Petit village hollandais.
23. Orange Midy.

The *Catalogue* of the Library of Parliament, 1858, p. 1614, gives a map, probably this one, as copied from the original in the archives at Paris.

Cf. on this campaign, Parkman's *Old Régime*, p. 186. Harrisse, no. 125, following Faribault, no. 808, cites a *Journal de la Marche du Marquis de Tracy contre les Iroquois*, Paris, 1667, as an account of the third expedition against the Iroquois, of which Tracy took the command, Sept.–Nov., 1666, in person, — the earlier expeditions having been unsuccessful. Cf. documents in Margry, i. 169; Charlevoix, liv. ix., and Brodhead, vols. i. and ix. Cf. Colden's *Five Nations*, and authorities enumerated by Shea in his *Charlevoix*, iii. 89, etc.


Gens des Terres
Kilistinons
Gens des Terres
OV
TRACY
SVPERIEVR
LAC
I. Minong
LAC
DES
ILINOIS
LAC
DES
HVRONS
DES PVANS
Mission de S.te Marie du Saut
Mission de S.t François Xavier
Escheille de 50 Lieues
LAC SVPERIEVR
ET AVTRES LIEVX OV SONT
LES MISSIONS DES PERES DE
LA COMPAGNIE DE IESVS
COMPRISES SOVS LE NOM
D'OVTAOVACS

CONTENTS: Missions among the Five Nations; Letter from Governor Lovelace, "Gouverneur de Manhate," from Fort James (New York), Nov. 18, 1668, to Father Pierron, on the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,297; Harrisse, nos. 129, 530; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,049; Lenox, p. 11; O'Callaghan, no. 1,244.

COPIES: **CB., HC., L., M., OHM., NY.**

The question of selling liquor to the Indians was one of large political bearing at times. Cf. Faillon, iii. chap. 21.

1669–1670. — LEMERCIER. *Relation . . les années* 1669 *et* 1670. Paris, 1671. Pages 10, 3–318. Part i. pp. 3–108, in larger type than part ii. pp. 111–318.

CONTENTS: Missions to the Five Nations: The Iroquois and Algonquin Difficulties; The Mohawk and Mohegan War, 1669; The Père d'Ablon's "Relation des Missions aux Ovtaovaks;" A chapter on the Dutch begins p. 145; Lake Superior and the Copper Mines; Letter from Jacques Marquette on the Western Tribes.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,298; Harrisse, no 135; Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,998; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,070; Lenox, p. 11; O'Callaghan, no. 1,245; Dufossé, no. 2,176 (200 francs).

COPIES: **CB., F., HC., L., M., NY., V.**

Jacque marquette

Translations of portions on Western explorations are in Smith's *Wisconsin*, vol. iii.

Claude Dablon

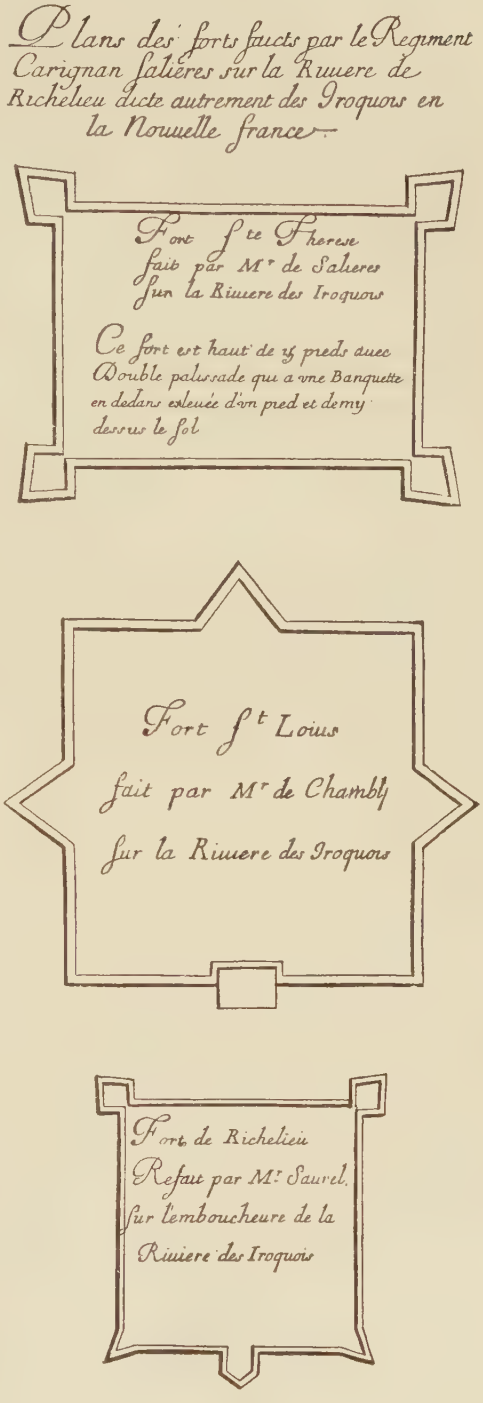
1670–1671. — CLAUDE D'ABLON. *Relation . . . les années* 1670 *et* 1671. Paris, 1672. Pages 16, 189, 1, with errors of paging. The title vignette is a basket of fruit.

CONTENTS: The Missions; The Western Country occupied by the French, and the Country described; the Mississippi River described from the Reports of the Indians.

It has a folding map of Lake Superior (a fac-simile of it is annexed), of which, says Parkman (*La Salle*, pp. 30, 450), "the exactness has been exaggerated as compared with other Canadian maps of the day." Bancroft (*United States*, original edition, iii. 152) gives a reproduction of it. Others are in Whitney's *Geological Report of Lake Superior*, and in Monette's *Mississippi*. vol. i. Harrisse (no. 201) notes a map of Lake Superior, dated 1671, and preserved in Paris.

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,290; Harrisse, no. 138; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,084; Lenox, p. 11; Dufossé, no. 2,177 (200 francs); Harrassowitz, 1882 (110 marks).

COPIES; **CB., HC., K.** (without map), **L., M., NY.**


Plans des forts faicts par le Regiment Carignan Salieres sur la Riuiere de Richelieu dicte autrement des Iroquois en la Nouuelle france.
Fort Ste Therese faict par Mr de Salieres sur la Riuiere des Iroquois
Ce fort est haut de 15 pieds auec Double palissade qui a vne Banquette en dedans esleuée d'vn pied et demy dessus le Sol
Fort St Louis fait par Mr de Chambly sur la Riuiere des Iroquois
Fort de Richelieu Refait par Mr Sauvel sur l'emboucheure de la Riuiere des Iroquois

Cf. the "Relation de l'Abbé Gallinée" in Margry, *Découvertes*, etc., part i. p. 112, and

separately with the Abbé Verreau's notes, Montreal, 1875. St. Lusson's ceremony in taking possession of the country on the Lakes is noted in *Ibid.* i. 96.

MADAME DE LA PELTRIE.[1]

1671–1672. — D'ABLON. *Relation . . . les années 1671 et 1672.* Paris, 1673. Pages 16, 264.

CONTENTS: Arrival of Frontenac; Huron and Iroquois, Lower Algonquin, and Hudson's Bay Missions; Overland Journey from the Saguenay. On page 207 begins "La Sainte Mort de Madame de la Peltrie."

REFERENCES: Carayon, no. 1,300; Harrisse, nos. 139, 340; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,097; Lenox, p. 12; O'Callaghan, no. 1,246; Harrassowitz, 1882 (150 marks.)

COPIES: **CB,, HC.** (without map), **K., L., M., NY., V.**

Harrisse says the two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale have the same map as the preceding *Relation*. O'Callaghan says all copies ought to have it. Lenox says the map in this edition is sometimes, but rarely, found with variations, the position of some of the missions being changed, and new stations added on the plate.

Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 29) speaks of the change now taking place in the character of the *Relations*, which are still "for the edification of the pious reader, filled with intolerably tedious stories of baptisms, conversions, and the exemplary deportments of neophytes; but they are relieved abundantly by more mundane subjects, — . . . observations on the winds, currents, and tides of the Great Lakes, speculations on a subterranean outlet of Lake Superior, accounts of its copper mines,"[2] etc.

A *Life of Madame de la Peltrie* (Magdalen de Chauvigny), by Mother St. Thomas, was published in New York in 1859.

A companion of Madame de la Peltrie was commemorated in *La Vie de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première Supérieure des Ursulines* (Paris, 1677), by her son, Claude Martin. She was in Canada from 1639 to 1672. (Harrisse, no. 143; Lenox, pp. 13, 14; Dufossé, no. 6,763, 125 francs.) In 1681 a series of *Lettres de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation* was printed, and they cover many historical incidents. (Harrisse, no. 148; Dufossé, no. 3,166, 110 francs.) A selection of them was published at Clermont Ferrand in 1837. Charlevoix published a Life of her in 1724; and in 1864 one by Casgrain was printed in Quebec, and in English at Cork in 1880. In 1873 the French text was included in *Œuvres de l'Abbé Casgrain*, tome i. Another by the Abbé Richardeau was printed at Tournai in 1873. There is a likeness of her in *Les Ursulines de Québec depuis leur Etablissement jusqu'a nos jours.* A. M. D. G. Quebec, 1863. 4 vols. Shea (*Charlevoix*, i. 82; ii. 101; iii. 184) enumerates other authorities: Juchereau, *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec.* Another History of the Hôtel-Dieu, by Casgrain, was published in 1878. An account of steps to procure her canonization is in the *Catholic World* (New York), August, 1878. Cf. Parkman's *Jesuits*, 174, 177, 199, 206.

[The contemporary printing of these *Relations* stopped with this for 1671–1672. The series in continuation has since been printed in various forms, as follows.]

1672–1679. — *Mission du Canada; Relations inédites de la Nouvelle France* (1672–1679), Paris, Ch. Douniol, 1861. 2 vols.; 2 maps, one of them a fac-simile of Marquette's map. [These volumes are vols. iii. and iv. of *Voyages et Travaux des Missionaires de la Compagnie de Jésus.*]

Cf. Field. *Indian Bibliography*, p. 276; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,085, 1,198; Lenox, p. 14; O'Callaghan, no. 1,252.

[1] Copied from a photograph owned by Mr. Parkman of a painting of which there is an engraving in *Les Ursulines de Quebec*, i. 348.

[2] Cf. Wilson on Mines in *Canadian Journal*, May, 1856.

1673–1679. — CLAUDE DABLON. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en la Nouvelle France les années* 1673 *à* 1679. *A la Nouvelle York. De la Presse Cramoisy de Jean-Marie Shea*, 1860. Pages 13, 290, with Marquette's map.

Martin describes the original manuscript (147 pages, pp. 109–118 wanting) preserved at Quebec as being divided into eight chapters. It has an account of the heroic death of Marquette. Cf. Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 396; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,197; Lenox, p. 16.

Some misrepresentations having been made regarding the Cramoisy series of Dr. Shea, it is fair to say that the expense of the whole series was borne by himself alone. There are enumerations of the volumes in Field's *Indian Bibliography*, the *Menzies Catalogue*, no. 1,811, and in the *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 146, etc.

1672–1673. — DABLON. *Relation*, etc. New York, 1861.

This concerns the missions to the Hurons near Quebec, to the Iroquois, and beyond the Great Lakes. It is also printed in the *Mission du Canada*, vol. i. Cf. Harrisse, nos. 597, 605; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,098; Field, no. 1,070; Lenox, p. 17.

1673–1674. — DABLON. *Relation*, etc. In the *Mission du Canada;* and an English translation is in the *Historical Magazine*, v. 237.

1673–1675. *Récit des Voyages et des Découvertes du R. Père Jacques Marquette, de la Compagnie de Jésus, en l'année* 1673 *et aux suivantes: La Continuation de ses Voyages par le R. P. Claude Allouez, et Le Journal autographe du P. Marquette en* 1674 *et* 1675. *Avec la Carte de son Voyage tracée de sa main.*

Printed for Mr. Lenox after the original manuscript preserved in the Collége Ste. Marie at Montreal. Cf. O'Callaghan, no. 1,246*a*; Carter-Brown, ii. 1,126; Lenox, p. 12.

1675. — "État présent des missions pendant l'année 1675," in the *Mission du Canada*, vol. ii.

1676–1677. — *Relation . . . ès années* 1676 *et* 1677. *Imprimée pour la première fois, selon la copie du MS. original restant à l'Université Laval, Québec.* [Albany, 1854.] Pages 2, 165.

CONTENTS: Missions among the Iroquois, Outaouacs, and at Tadousac.

This *Relation* was printed for Mr. Lenox. Cf. Lenox, p. 13; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,172; O'Callaghan, nos. 1,247, 1,975.

1677–1678. — *Relation*, etc. This is printed in the *Mission du Canada*, i. 193.

CONTENTS: Joliet's account of his Journey with Marquette, and their discovery of the Mississippi in 1673, as edited by Père Dablon, with an account of a third journey to the Country of the Illinois, by Claude Allouez.

An English version of Allouez' journal is given in Shea's *Mississippi Valley*, p. 67, with a sketch of the missionary's life. Cf. Margry's "Notice sur le Père Allouez, 1665–71," in his *Découvertes*, etc., Part I. p. 59. For Joliet and Marquette, see chap. vi.

1684. — *Copie d'une Lettre escrite par le Père Jacques Bigot, de la Compagnie de Jésus, l'an* 1684. Manate [New York], 1858.

The letter was written in behalf of the Abenakis of the St. Francis de Sales mission, to accompany offerings to the tomb of their patron saint at Annecy. The original letter is preserved in the Archives du Monastère de la Visitation à Annecy. Cf. Harrisse, no. 725; Lenox, p. 17; O'Callaghan, no. 1,972; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,278.

1684. — JACQUES BIGOT. *Relation . . . l'année* 1684. À Manate, 1857 (100 copies).

The Abenakis mission of St. Joseph de Sillery and the new mission of St. Francis de Sales, and follows the original manuscript in the Collége Ste. Marie Cf. Harrisse, no. 726; Field, no. 130; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,277; Lenox, p. 15.

1685. — BIGOT. *Relation . . . l'année* 1685. À Manate, 1858.

The St. Joseph de Sillery and St. Francis de Sales missions, and follows the original manuscript in the Collége Ste. Marie. Cf. Harrisse, no. 727; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,307; Lenox, p. 15; Field, no. 131.

1688. — JEAN DE ST. VALIER (Evêque de Québec). *Relation des Missions de la Nouvelle France.* Paris, 1688.

REFERENCES: Harrisse, no. 159; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. nos. 1,366, 1,367; O'Callaghan, no. 2,218; Sunderland, no. 268; Lenox, pp. 12, 13.
COPIES: **CB., HC., L.**, etc.

This work has sometimes the following title instead: *Estat présent de l'Eglise et de la Colonie Françoise dans la Nouvelle France.* De

St. Valier had succeeded De Laval, but before consecration visited the country, and wrote this account of it.[1]

1688. — J. M. CHAUMONOT. *Vie, écrite par lui-même*, 1688. New York, 1858.

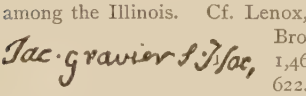
One of Dr. Shea's Cramoisy series. The original manuscript is preserved in the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec. It was followed by *Suite de la vie de P. M. J. Chaumonot, par un père de la Compagnie*, believed by Dr. Shea to be Rale. This was printed at New York in 1858, and continues the story to 1693. Cf. Carayon, *Le Père Chaumonot;* also, Harrisse, no. 753; Lenox, p. 16; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. nos. 1,348, 1,349; Field, no. 288.

1690–1691. — PIERRE MILET. *Relation de sa Captivité parmi les Onneiouts en* 1690–91. Nouvelle York, 1864.

Cf. Lenox, p. 17; Harrisse, no. 776; Field, p. 274. It follows a copy found in Holland by Henry C. Murphy. See Vol. III. p. 415.

1693–1694. — JACQUES GRAVIER. *Relation . . . depuis le Mois de Mars*, 1693, *jusqu'en Février*, 1694. A Manate, 1857.

The mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Illinois. Cf. Lenox, p. 15; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,466; Field, no. 622.



E. Carré, the minister of the French Church in Boston, printed in 1693, with a preface by Cotton Mather, *Eschantillon de la doctrine que les Jésuites enseignent aux Sauvages du nouveau monde*, drawn from a manuscript found at Albany. Sabin, vol. iii. no. 11,040.

1696–1702. — *Relation des Affaires du Canada en* 1696; *avec des lettres des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, depuis* 1696 *jusqu'en* 1702. Nouvelle York [Shea], 1865.

It was printed from copies of manuscripts preserved at Paris, made for H. C. Murphy, and covers the war with the Iroquois, the Sault St. Xavier, and other missions. A portion of it appeared without authority the same year, as *Relation des affaires du Canada en* 1696, *et des Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus jusqu' en* 1702. Cf. Field, p. 325; Lenox, p. 17; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,489.

1700. — *Relation ou Journal du Voyage du R. P. Jacques Gravier en* 1700, *depuis le pays des Illinois jusqu'à l' Embouchure du Mississippi.* Nouvelle York, 1859.

Printed by Dr. Shea as one of his series, and translated by Shea in his *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi* (Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,604). Dr. Shea also printed in 1861 De Montigny de St. Cosme and Thaumur de la Source's *Relation de la Mission du Mississippi du Séminaire de Québec en* 1700, giving an account of the attempt of the Quebec Seminary to found missions on the lower Mississippi. Cf. Field, no. 1,084; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,619. An English version is in Shea's *Early Voyages*, etc.

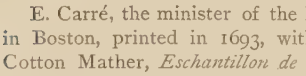
1701. — BIGOT. *Relation . . . dans la mission des Abnaquis à l' Acadie*, 1701. Manate [Shea] 1858.

Cf. Field, p. 33; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,628. Shea also printed *Relation* (1702) in 1865.

1717–1776. — *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères.* 32 vols. in 34 parts.

REFERENCES: Carayon, p. 55; Field, no. 919; Brunet, p. 1028; *Catalogue Library of Parliament*, 1858, p. 1192; Shea's *Charlevoix*, p. 88; Sabin, vol. x. pp. 294, 395; Muller, *Books on America*, (1877), no. 3,680.

This serial contains various accounts supplementing the Jesuit Relations: as under 1712, Father Marest's voyage to Hudson's Bay in 1694–1695 with D'Iberville; under 1722 and 1724, much about Rale, etc.



As regards the date, 1717, for the beginning of this series, Dr. Shea writes: —

"This date, though generally given, is, I am convinced, erroneous. The first Recueil was approved by the Provincial in 1702, and obtained the Royal license to print Aug. 23, 1702. The approval of vol. iii. is dated in 1703. It is clear that vol. i. must have appeared in 1702 or 1703. I possess a translation of vol. i. in English: 'Edifying and Curious Letters of some Missioners, of the Society of Jesus, from Foreign Missions. Printed in the Year 1707. 16°.' Of course the French preceded this translation."

Brunet says it is not easy to find the series complete. A second edition, Paris, 1780–1783, is in twenty-six volumes, but the prefaces and dedications of the original volumes are not included. There were other issues in 1819 and 1839. Stöcklein's *Brief-Schriften*, etc., 1726–1756, is in part a translation, with much else besides. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 390, and vol. iii. no. 994, where a Spanish translation is noted.

[1] See *Mgr. de St. Valier et L' Hôpital Général de Quebec.* Quebec, 1882.

CHAPTER VII.

FRONTENAC AND HIS TIMES.

BY GEORGE STEWART, JR., F.R.S.C.

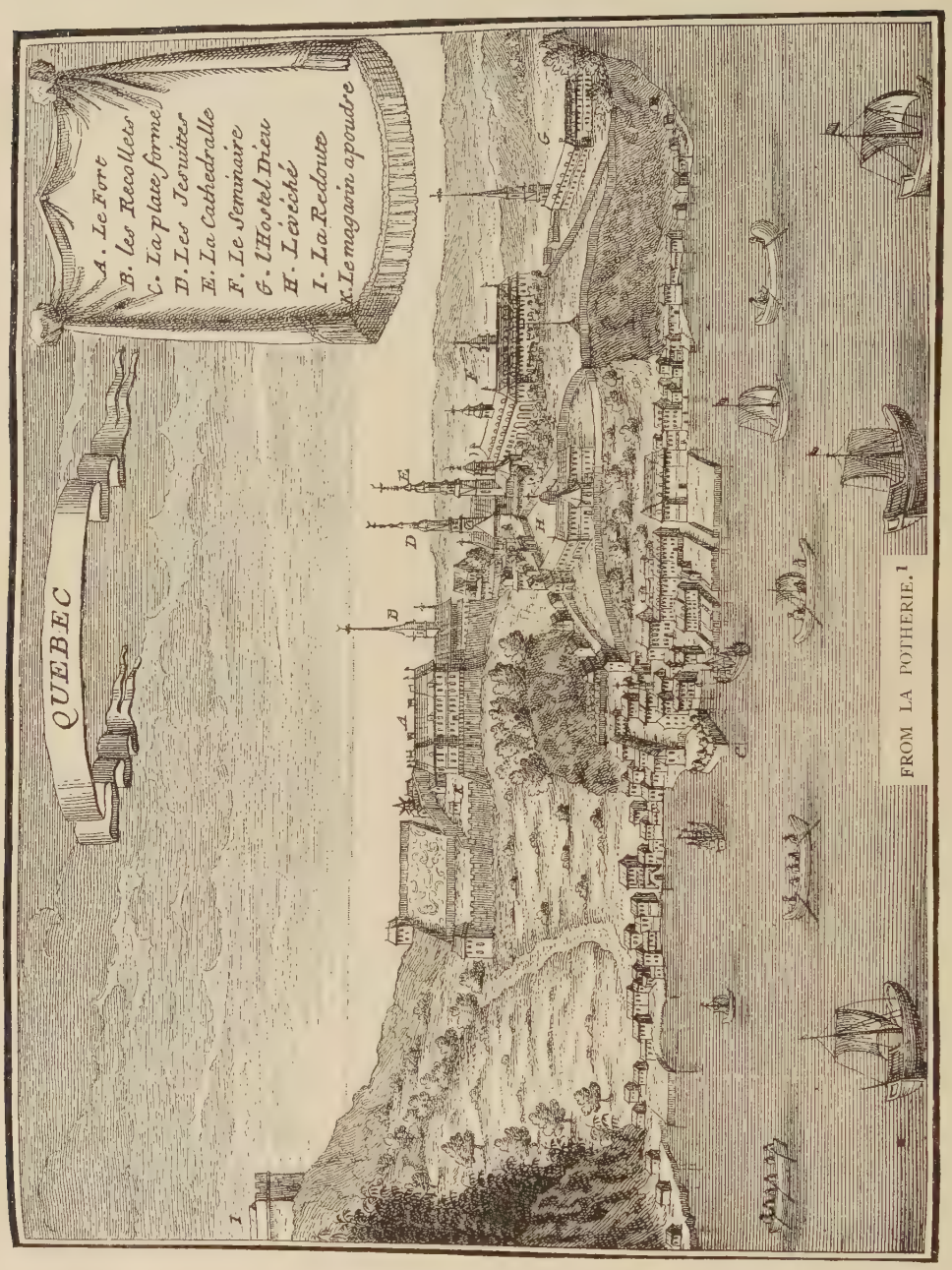
COURCELLE was succeeded as governor of New France by a man of remarkable individuality, energy, and purpose. Louis de Buade, Count of Palluau and Frontenac, is beyond any doubt the most conspicuous figure which the annals of early colonization in Canada reveal. He was the descendant of several generations of distinguished men who were famous as courtiers and soldiers. He was of Basque origin, and the blood of nobles flowed in his veins. His grandfather was Antoine de Buade, a favorite of Henri IV., and one who performed the delicate mission, in 1600, of carrying to Marie de Médicis the portrait of her royal lover. He stood high in his sovereign's estimation, was a counsellor of state and chevalier of the noble order of the King, and the wearer of several other titles of dignity and honor. By his wife, Jeanne Secontat, he had several children, among whom was Henri de Buade, an officer of the court of Louis XIII., who succeeded to the barony of Palluau, and became colonel of a Navarre regiment. This Henri married, in 1613, Anne Phélippeaux, the daughter of the Secretary of State. The future governor of New France, the fruit of this union, was born in 1620. The King acted as godfather to the babe, and bestowed on him his own name. When the child had attained his fifteenth year he entered the army, and was sent to Holland to fight under the Prince of Orange. Four years later he was conspicuous among the volunteers at the stubborn siege of Hesdin; and at the age of twenty he displayed great gallantry during a sortie of the garrison at Arras. In 1641 he conducted himself with equal bravery at the siege of Aire, and one year later, when he was only twenty-two years of age, he took part in the struggles before Callioure and Perpignan. He was colonel of his regiment at twenty-three, and during the sharp campaign in Italy commanded in several hard-contested battles and sieges. Through all this martial career he was often wounded, and at Orbitello had an arm fractured. He became a maréchal de camp (brigadier-general) in 1646, and shortly after this the first part of his military career came to a close, and he lived for a while in his father's house in Paris.

In October, 1648, Frontenac espoused the young and beautiful Anne de la Grange-Trianon, a maiden of imperious temper, lively wit, and marvellous grace. She was one of the court beauties of the period, the intimate friend and companion of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, grand-daughter of Henri IV. Her portrait, painted as Minerva, now adorns one of the galleries at Versailles. The marriage, which took place at the church of St. Pierre aux Bœufs, in Paris, was contracted without the knowledge of the bride's parents. Some of Frontenac's relatives witnessed the ceremony; but the young Countess's friends were greatly chagrined when they were informed of the event, though their anger did not last long, and a reconciliation soon followed. Not many months had elapsed before the painful discovery was made that the young couple were unsuited to each other. The bride conceived a positive dislike of her husband; and very soon after her son[1] was born she left his roof, and accepted Mademoiselle de Montpensier's friendly offer to join her suite. But the attachment between the two high-spirited ladies did not continue long. They quarrelled, and the fair Countess was dismissed from the court. The parting caused her some real sorrow. Afterward, it is said, she intrigued to have her husband sent out of the country. The Count had the ear of the King. He was a fine courtier, polished in manner and chivalrous in spirit. He was reputed to be one of the many lovers of the haughty beauty, Madame Montespan, the favorite mistress of Louis XIV. He had, however, a most ungovernable temper, and extravagance had left him a poor man. In 1669 Turenne, the great soldier of Europe, selected him to conduct a campaign against the Turks in Candia, where he displayed much of his wonted courage and dash, but to small purpose, for the infidels triumphed in the end. The prestige of Frontenac, however, remained untarnished, and his reputation as a military leader increased. In 1672 the King further rewarded his fidelity by appointing him Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France. Various stories have been told as to the immediate cause of his appointment. Several chronicles affirm that the King had detected his intimacy with Madame de Montespan, and resolved at all hazards to get his dangerous rival out of the way. Saint-Simon takes a different view of the situation, and says that Frontenac "was a man of excellent parts, living much in society, and completely ruined. He found it hard to bear the imperious temper of his wife, and he was given the government of Canada to deliver him from her, and afford him some means of living." The Countess had no mind to brave the rigors of her husband's new seat of power, and accordingly she accepted the offer of a suite of rooms at the Arsenal, where she went to live with her congenial friend, the lively Mademoiselle d'Outrelaise. During her long life at the Arsenal, she and her friend gave a tone to French society; her *salon* became famous for its wit and gayety, and *les Divines*, as the ladies were called, were sought after by the first people of

[1] This son, François Louis, entered the army, and was killed while in the service of King Louis, in Germany.

the kingdom. Though she did not live with her husband, and held him in some aversion, she never forgot that she was his wife. She corresponded with him on occasion, and it is established that often she proved of signal service to him in the furtherance of his ambitious plans and projects. It was at the Arsenal she died, at the advanced age of seventy-five.

When Frontenac sailed for the colony he was a matured man of the world, and fifty-two years of age. "Had nature disposed him to melancholy," says Parkman, "there was much in his position to awaken it. A man of courts and camps, born and bred in the focus of a most gorgeous civilization, he was banished to the ends of the earth, among savage hordes and half-reclaimed forests, to exchange the splendors of St. Germain and the dawning glories of Versailles for a stern gray rock, haunted by sombre priests, rugged merchants and traders, blanketed Indians, and the wild bush-rangers. But Frontenac was a man of action. He wasted no time in vain regrets, and set himself to his work with the elastic vigor of youth. His first impressions had been very favorable. When, as he sailed up the St. Lawrence, the basin of Quebec opened before him, his imagination kindled with the grandeur of the scene. 'I never,' he wrote, 'saw anything more superb than the position of this town. It could not be better situated as the future capital of a great empire.'" Such was the striking condition of Quebec when Frontenac sailed into the port to assume the functions of his office. The King, his powerful minister Colbert, the Intendant Talon, and the Governor himself regarded the colony as a great prize, and one destined for a future which should in no small degree reflect the glory and grandeur of the old monarchy. Vast sums of money had been expended in colonizing and defending it. Some of the best soldiers of the kingdom and many desirable immigrants, inured to toil and hard work, were sent by Louis to build up the new country and to develop its resources. Frontenac, imbued with the same spirit as his sovereign, proceeded to bring his enormous territory to a state of order. He convened a council at Quebec, and administered an oath of allegiance to the leading men in his dominions. He sought to inaugurate a monarchical form of government. He created, with much pomp and show, three estates of his realm,—the clergy, nobles, and commons. The former was composed of the Jesuits and the Seminary priests. To three or four *gentilshommes* then living in Quebec he added some officers belonging to his troops; and these comprised the order of nobility. The commons consisted of the merchants and citizens. The magistracy and members of council were formed into a distinct body, though their place properly belonged to the third estate. This great convocation took place on the 23d of October, 1672, and the ceremonies were conducted in the church of the Jesuits, which had been decorated for the purpose by the Fathers themselves. Frontenac, who spoke and wrote well, made a speech to the citizens, indicating the policy which he meant to pursue, and scattering advice to the throng before him with a liberal hand. The three estates which he had founded listened to an exhortation of some



[1] [This view appears in the 1722 edition, i. 232; 1753 ed. ii. 232. It is also in Shea's *Le Clercq*, ii. 313. Harrisse (no. 240) notes a view on the margin of a map in 1689.

Faillon, in his *Histoire de la Colonie Française* (iii. 373), speaks of two early plans of Quebec which are preserved, one of 1660, the other of 1664. They resemble each other, except that the last represents a projected line of fortifications across the peninsula; and in engraving the latter, Faillon's engraver has given the plate the date of 1660, instead of 1664: *Plan du Haut et Bas Québec comme il est en l'an* 1660. The *Catalogue* of the Library of Parliament, 1858, p. 1614, shows copies of plans of these dates copied from originals in the Paris Archives. Cf. Har-

length. The priests were urged to continue their labors in connection with the conversion of the Indians, whom they were advised to train and civilize while they converted. The nobles were praised for their culture and valiant conduct, and urged to be assiduous in the improvement of the colony. To the commons he recommended faithfulness in the discharge of their duties to the King and to himself. After solemnly taking the oath, the assembly dissolved. The Count next established municipal government in Quebec, on a model which obtained in several cities of France. He ordered the election of three citizens as aldermen, the senior of whom should rank as mayor. This body was to take the place of the syndic, and it was provided that one of the number should retire from office every year. The electors would then fill the vacancy with some one of their choice, though the Governor reserved the right to confirm or reject the successful candidate. He then, with the assistance of some of the chief people about him, framed a series of regulations for the government of the capital, and notified the inhabitants that a meeting would be held twice a year, where public questions would be discussed. Frontenac's reforms were exceedingly distasteful to the King, and the minister very clearly conveyed his Majesty's views on the subject, in a despatch written on the 13th of June, 1673. Talon, who knew the temper of the Court in such matters, had wisely abstained from taking an active part in the Governor's scheme, and feigned illness as the cause for his non-attendance at the convention. Colbert wrote: "The assembling and division of all the inhabitants into three orders or estates, which you have done, for the purpose of having them take the oath of fidelity, may have been productive of good just then. But it is well for you to observe that you are always to follow, in the government and management of that country, the forms in force here; and as our kings have considered it for a long time advantageous to their service not to assemble the States-General of their kingdom, with a view perhaps to abolish insensibly that ancient form, you likewise ought very rarely, or (to speak more correctly) never, give that form to the corporate body of the inhabitants of that country; and it will be necessary even in the course of a little time, and when the colony will be still stronger than it now is, insensibly to suppress the syndic, who presents petitions in the name of all the inhabitants, it being proper that each should speak for himself, and that no one should speak for the

risse, nos. 192–195, and no. 199 for a manuscript map of 1670, *La ville haute et basse de Quebeck*, also preserved in the same Archives; while the *Catalogue* (p. 1614) of the Canadian Parliament gives three of 1670, copies from originals at Paris.

Harrisse also notes (no. 220) as in the French Archives a *Carte du Fort St. Louis de Québec*, dated 1683; (no. 221) a *Plan de la basse ville de Québec* (1683), — both by Franquelin; (no. 224) a *Plan de la Ville et Chasteau de Québec, fait en* 1685, . . . *par le Sr. de Villeneuve;* and (no. 230) a *Carte des Environs de Québec . . . en* 1685 *et* 1686, *par le Sr. de Villeneuve.* Cf. also the *Catalogue* of the Library of Parliament, pp. 1615, 1616.

Plans growing out of Phips's attack in 1690 are mentioned elsewhere. Of subsequent plans, Harrisse (no. 249) cites a *Plan de la Ville de Québec*, 1693, as being in the French Archives, and others (nos. 252–254, 369) of 1694, 1695, and 1699. The *Catalogue* of the Library of Parliament also gives manuscript plans of 1693, 1698, 1700, and 1710. Cf. J. M. Le Moine, *Histoire des Fortifications et des Rues de Québec*, 1875 (pamphlet). — ED.]

whole." Louis' policy was unmistakable. He assumed to be the autocrat of his dominions, and anything which might be construed into an attempt to weaken the principles of his policy met with a stern rebuke. Frontenac's colonial system might have benefited New France: it was capable of being wisely administered, and rich developments might have ensued; but the King would not have it, and the Governor was forced to withdraw his plan.

Arbitrary and domineering to a degree, always anxious to preserve his dignity and to exact respect from his subordinates in office and from those about his court, whether lay or clerical, and a martinet in compelling the observance of all rules of social and military discipline, Frontenac, as may be supposed, did not get on well with all parties in the colony. He made the fatal mistake of quarrelling with the Jesuits and the Seminary priests, — the two religious orders which at that time held the greater sway in Canada, and whose influence among the people, and sometimes at court, was important, and not easy to dispel. An enemy was also found in the Intendant Talon, who suspiciously watched every movement which the Governor made, and regularly reported his impressions to France. Talon, however, was recalled before the quarrel had assumed very formidable proportions, and Frontenac was well rid of him. A more dangerous element, and one which could thwart him and upset his schemes, remained, however, to tantalize him. He had his religious convictions, and was accounted a good-living man, in the ordinary acceptance of the term. He regularly went to Mass, and followed the observances of the Church; but his Catholicism was framed in a more liberal school than that of the followers of Loyola. His enemies said that he was a Jansenist. He leaned towards the Recollect Fathers, attended their place of worship, and often called on the King for additional priests of that order, and took every opportunity to show them attention and marks of his favor. When the Jesuits appeared too strong in number, he sent to France for more Recollects, and through them he neutralized to some extent the influence of the former. But the Jesuits were powerful, diplomatic, and insidious. They constantly watched their opportunity, and changed their mode of warfare according to the circumstances of the hour. When the gloved hand answered their purpose, they used it; but they had no scruple to strike with stronger weapons. Had Frontenac chosen at the outset of his career to conciliate them and to play into their hands, his administration might have been less fretful to himself and vexatious to others. He might have fulfilled his original intention, and bettered his fortunes in the way he desired. He might have carried out some of his cherished reforms, for his zeal in that direction was really very great, and he had his heart in his task; but his haughty disposition would not be curbed, and he preferred to be aggressive towards the Jesuits rather than conciliatory. The result may be foreseen. Enemies sprang up about him on every side, and often they were more dangerous than the Iroquois tribes who constantly menaced the colony, and far more difficult to check than the English of Massachusetts or of Albany. He early began writing letters to

the minister about his trials with the clergy. On the 2d of November, 1672, he wrote; "Another thing displeases me, and this is the complete dependence of the Grand Vicar and the Seminary priests on the Jesuits, for they never do the least thing without their order; so that they [the Jesuits] are masters in spiritual matters, which, as you know, is a powerful lever for moving everything else." He complained of their spies, and proceeded to resist their influence wherever he found it asserting itself. The Sulpitians fared no better at his hands, and he waged as bitter a warfare against them and those who followed their teachings. He befriended the Recollects so warmly, that it is not strange that they eagerly lent him all the assistance they could to further his efforts in breaking down the power of their rivals. It is said that at first he favored them out of a mere spirit of opposition to the Bishop and his allies, the Jesuits; but as time wore on, his favor deepened into affection, and he more than once declared to the King that the Recollects ought to be more numerous than they were. He told Colbert that their superior was a "very great preacher," and that he had "cast into the shade and given some chagrin to those in this country who certainly are not so able." He charged the clergy with abusing the confessional and intermeddling with private family affairs, and expressed his dislike in strong terms of their secret doings in the colony, and their attempts to set husbands against wives, and parents against children,—"and all," he wrote to the minister, "as they say, for the greater glory of God." It is clear that the Count distrusted the "Black Gowns" from the very first, and resolved to hold them at arm's length. Much of his energy was wasted in trying to lessen their influence at court; and the King and his minister were kept pretty busy reading and answering the recriminatory letters of the Governor and his unsympathetic intendants, whose feelings always prompted them to side with the Jesuits and the Church, and against Frontenac.

A policy of Louis XIV. was the civilization of the Indians, and Frontenac was, early in his career, instructed to take means to civilize them, to have them taught the French language, and to amalgamate them with the colonists. At that time the Count knew very little about Indian nature; but he embarked in the scheme with all his energy and zeal. He soon gained a mastery over the most savage tribes, taught the warriors to call him father, and succeeded in inducing the Iroquois to intrust him with the care of eight of their children,—four girls and four boys. The former were given to the Ursulines, while he kept two of the boys in his own house, and placed the others, at his own cost, in respectable French families, and had them sent to school to be educated. He tried to get the Jesuits to assist him in this task, but they failed to respond cordially to his urging; and he complained bitterly of their want of sympathy with the movement, even charging them — not very accurately, it must be admitted — with "refusing to civilize the Indians, because they wished to keep them in perpetual wardship."

But a new question now arose, and Frontenac's mind was turned towards western exploration. He warmly favored the idea, and, relinquishing for the moment all thought of his trials with the priests, he gave his whole attention to the proposals of that bold and self-reliant explorer, the Sieur Robert de la Salle. This young man was poor in pocket, but his head was full of schemes. There was much in common between the two men. Both had strong will and ability of no mean calibre. They were not easily discouraged, and having once engaged in an undertaking, they had sufficient determination to carry it through. Frontenac greatly liked La Salle, and the two remained fast friends for many years. A short time before the Governor arrived in Canada, the Iroquois had made an attack on the French, and Courcelle had been compelled to punish them. To keep them in check and to facilitate the fur-trade of the upper country, he decided that a fort should be built near the outlet of Lake Ontario. This determination had also been reached some time before by the Intendant Talon, and both officers had submitted the suggestion to the King. Frontenac was not long in perceiving the advantages which the establishment of such a fort presented, and he resolved to build it, as much to protect the colony as to augment his own slender resources, which were running very low. La Salle had gained the confidence of the Governor, who had listened to his overtures, and manifested great interest in everything he said. "There was between them," says Parkman, "the sympathetic attraction of two bold and energetic spirits; and though Cavelier de la Salle had neither the irritable vanity of the Count nor his Gallic vivacity of passion, he had in full measure the same unconquerable pride and hardy resolution. There were but two or three others in Canada who knew the western wilderness so well. He was full of schemes of ambition and of gain; and from this moment he and Frontenac seem to have formed an alliance which ended only with the Governor's recall." The fort recommended by Courcelle, if built, might be employed in intercepting the trade which the tribes of the upper lakes had begun to carry on with the Dutch and English of New York. This trade Frontenac resolved to secure for Canada, though it must be said that those who would have control of the fort would monopolize the larger share of the traffic to themselves, to the great displeasure of the other merchants, who resolutely set their faces against the project. Frontenac knew this perfectly well, for it was principally with a desire to benefit himself that he had given the plan countenance. La Salle understood the western country, and was familiar with Lake Ontario and its shores. He soon convinced the Governor that the most suitable spot for the contemplated fortified post was at the mouth of the River Cataraqui, and there, where the city of Kingston now stands, the fort[1] was built, in July, 1673. La Salle had told Frontenac that the English were intriguing with the Iroquois and the tribes of the upper

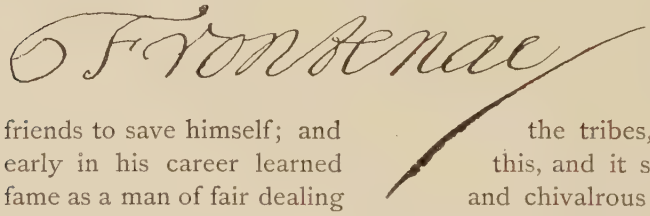
[1] A plan of this fort was sent by M. Denonville to France, on the 13th November, 1685. A copy may be seen in Faillon's *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, iii. 467, entitled "Fort de Frontenac ou Katarakourg, construit par le Sieur de la Salle." A sketch after Faillon is given on another page, in the editorial note on La Salle appended to chapter v.

lakes to get them to break the treaty with the French and bring their furs to New York. This statement was true, and it hastened the Governor's action. With his usual address, he announced his intention of making a tour through the upper parts of the colony with a strong force of men, that the Iroquois and their associates might be intimidated, and with a view to the securing of a more permanent peace. He had no money to carry on this crusade, so he issued an order to the people of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and other settlements within his jurisdiction, calling on them to supply him, at their own cost, with men and canoes as soon as the spring sowing had passed. The officers in the colony were requested to join the expedition, and they dared not refuse. On the 3d of June Frontenac left Quebec, accompanied by his guard, his staff, some of the garrison of the Castle of St. Louis, and a band of volunteers. Arriving at Montreal, he tarried there thirteen days with his following. There were some matters which required his attention, and he speedily set about to arrange them in a manner which should at least be satisfactory to himself.

La Salle had been despatched to Onondaga, the political stronghold of the Iroquois, on a mission to secure the attendance of their chiefs at a council convened by the Governor, to be held at the Bay of Quinté, situated on the north of Lake Ontario. While the intrepid traveller was on his way, Frontenac changed his mind about the place of rendezvous, and sent a messenger after him, calling the sachems to meet at Cataraqui, where he decided to construct the fort. The Governor of Montreal received Frontenac with suitable honors. He met him on shore with his soldiers and people, a salute was fired, and the judge and the syndic pronounced speeches of interminable length, but loyal and patriotic in sentiment. The priests of St. Sulpice received him at their church, where an address of welcome was presented. The *Te Deum* was sung, and the Count then retired into the fort, and began preparing for his coming journey. It was not long before he discovered that his project found little favor in the eyes of the people of Montreal, who feared that much of their trade might be diverted from them by the construction of the new post. The Jesuits, too, were opposed to the rearing of forts and trading posts in the upper districts, and they did what they could to discourage the scheme. Frontenac was warned that a Dutch fleet had captured Boston, and would soon proceed to attack Quebec. Dablon was the author of this last rumor; but the Count turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and report, and continued his preparations. His followers and their stores were already on the way to Lachine, and on the twenty-eighth of June the Governor-General himself set out. His force consisted of four hundred men, including the Mission Indians, and one hundred and twenty canoes and two flat-bottomed boats. The voyage was an arduous and difficult one. Without the Indians, it is a question whether it could have been accomplished at all. The fearful journey was full of perils and hardships, and, to add to their discomfiture, before the place of destination was reached rain fell in torrents. Frontenac's management of the Indians

approached the marvellous. They worked for him with genuine zeal, and showed by their toil as much as by their manner that they respected his authority and admired him as a man. He divined the Indian nature well, though he had been in the country but a few months; and the longer he remained in the colony, the greater his influence over them became. He knew when to bully and when to conciliate, when to apply blandishments and when to be stern. It was a happy thought which prompted him to call himself their father. It gave him the superiority of position at once. Other Onontios were brothers; but the great Onontio was the father.[1] He really liked the Indians, and could enter into their ways and customs with a spirit born of good-will. He was a frank, and often fiery soldier, and a true courtier; but he could be playful with the Indian children, and it was not beneath his dignity to lead a war-dance, should policy demand, as it did sometimes. He seemed to know the thoughts of his dusky friends, and they felt that he could read what was passing through their minds. His control over the tribes, friends and foes alike, was certainly never surpassed by any white man.

He was, moreover, true to his allies; and on more than one occasion refused to make peace for himself with the ferocious Iroquois, when he could easily have done so, unless they complied with his terms, and included in the treaty the Indians friendly to the French. He would never abandon his friends to save himself; and the tribes, hostile and friendly, early in his career learned this, and it served to establish his fame as a man of fair dealing and chivalrous principle. He never yielded his point even when his savage enemies were many and his own forces few and feeble. He maintained his ascendency always, and lecturing his children, pointed out the duties they should observe. Such was his personal magnetism, that they listened and obeyed him when their following was five times as great as his own. The secret of Frontenac's supremacy over savage nature seemed to lie in the fact that he never ceased to have perfect faith and belief in himself. He had fiery blood in his veins, and an iron will, that the blandishments which he employed at times never quite concealed. Even when reduced to severe straits, he did not lose that boldness of demeanor which carried him through so many perils. The Iroquois gave him most trouble. They were fond of fighting, and when they were not attacking the French, they were waging war on the Illinois and Hurons, and on other tribes whose aid was often found on the side of Frontenac. The Confederacy preferred to sell their peltries to the English and Dutch of Albany,



[1] [Dr. Hawley says, in a note in his *Early Chapters of Cayuga History*, page 15, that this name is derived from *onnonte*, a mountain, and was given by the Hurons and Iroquois to Montmagny, governor of Canada, 1636–1648, as a translation of his name (*mons magnus*), and was applied to his successors, while the King of France was called *Grand Onontio*. — Ed.]

than to the French. They drove with the English better bargains and secured higher prices, and the English encouraged them to bring to them their beaver skins. But the tribes who were friendly to their white enemies had by far the richest product of these furs, and La Salle's fort of St. Louis, the mission of Michillimackinac, and other posts really controlled the trade. To gain this traffic, and to divert it into the hands of their newly-found friends, the English and Dutch, the five tribes of the League proceeded in 1673 to make war on the Indians who engrossed it. Great anxiety was felt in the colony when this determination on the part of the Confederacy became known, and the tribes interested — the Illinois, the Hurons, and Ottawas — manifested the utmost fear. Frontenac deemed a conference advisable, and he invited the Iroquois to come to him and discuss affairs; but the arrogant warriors sent back an insolent answer, and told the messenger that Frontenac should come to them, — a suggestion which some of the French, who were terror-stricken, urged the Governor to act upon. But the Count had no such intention, and refused to make any concession. He sent them word that he would go no farther than Montreal, or, at the utmost, to Fort Frontenac, to meet them. In August, he met the Hurons and Ottawas at Montreal in council. There had been jealousy among the tribes, but the Count warned them against dissension among themselves, called them his children, and exhorted them to live together as brethren. A celebrated Iroquois chief came next, with several of his followers. This was Decanisora, who invited Frontenac to Oswego to meet the Five Tribes. The Count, determined to hold his ground, replied with firmness, "It is for the father to tell the children where to hold council, not for the children to tell the father. Fort Frontenac is the proper place, and you should thank me for going so far every summer to meet you." He then conciliated the chief with presents and a wampum belt, telling him that the Illinois were Onontio's children, and therefore his brethren, and that he wished them all to live together in harmony. There was peace for a brief space, but it did not continue many months.

When Frontenac neared the end of his toilsome journey, and had reached the first opening of Lake Ontario, he made up his mind to show the Iroquois the full extent of his power, and to make as imposing a display as possible. He arranged his canoes in line of battle, and disposed of them in this wise: four squadrons, composing the vanguard, went in front and in one line; then the two bateaux followed, and after them came the Count at the head of all the canoes of his guard, of his staff, and of the volunteers attached to his person. On his right, the division from Three Rivers, and on his left, the Hurons and Algonquins were placed. Two other squadrons formed a third line, and composed the rear-guard. In this order they proceeded about half a league, when an Iroquois canoe was observed to be approaching. It contained the Abbé d'Urfé (who had met the Indians above the River Cataraqui, and notified them of the Count's arrival) and several Iroquois chiefs, who offered to guide their visitors to the place of

rendezvous. After an exchange of civilities, their offer was accepted, and the whole party proceeded to the spot selected. The Count was greatly pleased with the locality, and spent the rest of the afternoon of the 12th of July in examining the ground. The Iroquois were impatient to have him visit them that night in their tents; but he sent them word that it was now too late, but that in the morning, when it would be more convenient to see and entertain each other, he would gladly do so. This reply was considered satisfactory. At daybreak the next morning, the *réveillé* was sounded, and at seven o'clock everybody was astir and under arms. The troops were drawn up in double file around Frontenac's tent, and extended to the cabins of the Indians. Large sails were placed in front of his tent for the savage deputies to sit on, and to the number of sixty they passed through the two files thus formed to the council. They were greatly impressed with the display, and "after having sat, as is their custom, and smoked some time," says the journal of the Count's voyage, "one of them, named Garakontie, who had always been the warmest friend of the French, and who ordinarily acted as spokesman, paid his compliment in the name of all the nations, and expressed the joy they felt on learning from Sieur de la Salle Onontio's design to come and visit them. Though some evil-disposed spirits had endeavored to excite jealousy among them at his approach, they could not, they said, hesitate to obey his orders, but would come and meet him in the confidence that he wished to treat them as a father would his children. They were then coming, they continued, as true children, to assure him of their obedience, and to declare to him the entire submission they should always manifest to his command. The orator spoke, as he claimed, in the name of the Five Nations, as they had only one mind and one thought, in testimony whereof the captain of each tribe intended to confirm what he had just stated in the name of the whole." The other chiefs followed, and after complimenting Frontenac, each captain presented a belt of wampum, "which is worthy of note," says the chronicle, "because formerly it was customary to present only some fathoms of stringed wampum."

The Count replied in a form of address very similar to theirs. He assured them that they did right in obeying the command of their father, told them to take courage, and not to think that he had come to make war. His mind was full of peace, and peace walked by his side. After this harangue, he ordered six fathoms of wampum to be given to them, and a gift of guns for the men, and prunes and raisins for the women and children. The great council took place later on. Meanwhile, the construction of the fort began, and the workmen pursued their task with such ardor and speed, that by the 17th of July, the date fixed for the grand council, it was well advanced. The work was done under the supervision of Raudin, the engineer of the expedition. The Indians watched the building of the fort with curious interest. The Count regularly entertained two or three of the principal Iroquois at each meal, while he fondled the children and distributed sweetmeats among them, and invited the squaws to dance in the evenings. The great

council assembled at eight o'clock in the morning. The ceremony was the same as that which had been observed at the preliminary meeting. Frontenac wore his grandest air. He entreated them to become Christians, and to listen to the instructions of the "Black Gowns." He praised, scolded, and threatened them in turn, and drawing their attention to his retinue, said: "If your father can come so far, with so great a force, through such dangerous rapids, merely to make you a visit of pleasure and friendship, what would he do if you should awaken his anger, and make it necessary for him to punish his disobedient children? He is the arbiter of peace and war. Beware how you offend him." He further warned them not to molest the allies of the French, on pain of chastisement. He told them that the storehouse at Cataraqui was built as a proof of his affection, and that all the goods they needed could be had from there. He could not give them the terms yet, because the cost of transportation was so far unknown to him. He cautioned them against listening to men of bad character, and recommended the Sieur de la Salle and such as he as persons to be heeded. He asked the chiefs to give him a number of their children to be educated at Quebec, not as hostages, but out of pure friendship. The Indians wanted time to consider this proposition, and the next year they acceded to it. At intervals, during the delivery of his speech, Frontenac paused and gave the Indians presents, which seemed to please them. The council closed, and three days later, the Iroquois started on their journey homeward, while Frontenac's party returned in detachments. The fort was finished, and the barracks nearly built. Frontenac would have left with his men for home sooner than he did, but a band of Indians from the villages on the north side of Lake Ontario being announced, he remained with some troops to receive them. He treated them as he had treated the others, and pronounced the same speech. Leaving a garrison in the fort, he then set out for Montreal, which he reached on the 1st of August.[1]

The enterprise cost the King ten thousand francs, and Frontenac regarded the investment as a good one indeed. He hoped that he had impressed the savages with fear and respect, that he had obtained a respite from the ravages of the Iroquois, and that the fort would be the means of keeping the peltry trade in the hands of the French, its situation affording the opportunity of cutting it off from the English, who were making efforts to secure it for themselves. Frontenac wrote to the minister in November, that with a fort at the mouth of the Niagara and a vessel on Lake Erie, the French could command all the upper lakes.

François Perrot, the Governor of Montreal, owed his position to Talon, his wife's uncle, who had induced the Sulpitians, the proprietors and feudal lords of Montreal and the island, and in whom the appointment rested, to give the place to him. Knowing that the priests could at will depose him, he sought to protect himself by asking the King to give him a royal ap-

[1] [See narrative in chap. vi. Margry (i. 195) gives the "Voyage du Comte de Frontenac au lac Ontario, en 1673," with letters appertaining. Cf. *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix. 95. — Ed.]

pointment. This Louis did; and the Sulpitians could now make no change without consent of the King. Perrot was a man of little principle, selfish and unscrupulous, who turned every movement to his own advantage. His passion was for money-making, and his position as governor gave him many opportunities. One of his first acts, with that object in view, was to set up a storehouse on Perrot Island, which gave him full command of the fur-trade. This post was situated just above Montreal, and directly in the route of the tribes of the upper lakes and their vicinity. A retired and trusted lieutenant, named Brucy, was placed in charge, whose chief business it was to intercept the Indians and secure their merchandise, to the no small profit of the Governor and himself, and the great scandal of the neighborhood. The forests were ranged by *coureurs de bois*, who also trafficked with the savages, and bore off the richest peltries before the real merchants of Montreal had had the opportunity. King Louis had in vain attempted, by royal edicts of outlawry and stringent instructions to his representatives and subordinates, to dislodge the bushrangers and to put an end to their doings. The *coureurs de bois*, however, were hardy sons of the soil; some of them were soldiers who had deserted from the army; all of them were men of endurance, and accustomed to brave the sternest hardships. They loved their wild life and the adventurous character of their calling. They were, moreover, on very excellent terms with Perrot, who connived at their escapades and shut his ears to all complaint. He had no motive to heed the order of his sovereign, so long as the wayward rangers shared with him the proceeds of their dealings with the Indians. This, on their part, they were very willing to do.

Frontenac was jealous of Perrot's advantages, and though he had but few soldiers in his command with whom to enforce obedience, he determined to strike a blow at the bushrangers, and make an attempt to execute the King's orders. Perrot had of late grown despotic and tyrannical. He was comparatively beyond the reach of his superior, and had matters pretty much under his own control. The journey from Quebec to Montreal sometimes occupied a fortnight, and the Governor-General, as he well knew, was not able to strike heavily with the shattered remnants of forces who served under him. Perrot was therefore bold and defiant; but he miscalculated the temper of his chief, and it was not long before the arms of Frontenac were long enough to reach him. Perrot, in a fit of temper, had imprisoned the judge of Montreal because that functionary had dared to remonstrate against the disorders which had been perpetrated by the *coureurs de bois*. The affair caused much excitement; and with other acts of the Governor, the Sulpitians were soon convinced of the grave error they had made in their choice of a chief magistrate. They were powerless, however, to unseat him. Frontenac now wrote to the minister, and asked for a galley, to the benches of which it was his intention to chain the outlaws as rowers. He then ordered the judge at Montreal to seize every *coureur de bois* that he could find. Two of them were living at the

house of Lieutenant Carion, a friend of Perrot's, and when the judge's constable went to lay hands on them, Carion abused the officer, and allowed the men to escape. Perrot indorsed the conduct of his lieutenant, and even threatened the judge with arrest, should he make a similar attempt again. Frontenac, when he heard of the manner in which his orders had been treated, flew into a passion. He despatched Lieutenant Bizard and three soldiers to Montreal, charged to arrest and convey to the capital the offending Carion. Bizard succeeded in making the arrest, and left a letter in the house of Le Ber the merchant for Perrot, from Frontenac, giving notice of what had been done. Perrot was, however, earlier advised of the arrest. He hastened with a sergeant and three or four soldiers, found Bizard, and indignantly ordered him under arrest. Nor did Le Ber fare better, for, because he had testified to the scene he had witnessed, he was thrown into jail. These arrests produced much excitement in the place, and Perrot after a while was aware that he had acted with inconsiderate rashness. He released Bizard, and sent him off to Quebec, the bearer of a sullen and impertinent letter to the Count. In due time an answer came, in an order to come to Quebec and render an account of his conduct. Frontenac also

CANADIAN ON SNOW-SHOES.[1]

[1] A fac-simile of a print in Potherie, vol. i.

wrote to the Abbé Salignac de Fénelon,[1] — a zealous young missionary stationed at Montreal, one of whose uncles had been a firm friend of Frontenac during the progress of the Candian war, — and desired him to see Perrot and explain the situation. The Abbé's task was a delicate but congenial one, and he pursued it with such good effect that the Governor was induced to accompany him to headquarters. They made the journey on snow-shoes, and walked the whole distance of one hundred and eighty miles on the St. Lawrence. The interview with the Count was short. Both men were choleric and easily excited. Perrot was disappointed at his reception, after taking the trouble to come so far, and at such a season of the year. Frontenac was stubborn and angry, and the position of his rival at his feet did not mollify his passion, but rather increased it. He put an end to the interview by locking up his offending subordinate in the château, and ordering guards to be placed over him day and night. A trusty friend of Frontenac, La Nouguère by name, was despatched to Montreal to take command. Brucy was seized and cast into prison, while a determined war was made on the *coureurs de bois*. The two who had been the main cause of the recent trouble were captured and sent to Quebec, where one of them was hanged in the presence of Perrot. The end of this war of extermination soon came, and Frontenac informed the minister that only five of these rangers of the wood remained at large; all the others had returned to the settlements, and given up their hazardous calling.

The old jealousy between Quebec and Montreal now showed itself again. The Sulpitians thought that Frontenac had acted a high-handed part in placing La Nouguère in command over their district without as much as consulting them. Perrot was still their selected governor, and they revolted against the arbitrary conduct of the Governor-General. They roused the colonists against Frontenac's course, and the Abbé Fénelon, who possessed many of the indiscretions of youth, and who felt that he had been trapped, became the most bitter of the Count's enemies. Before he left Quebec to return home, he gave his former friend a good deal of abuse; and his first act on reaching Montreal was to preach a sermon full of meaning against Frontenac. Dollier de Casson, the superior of the congregation, reproved the preacher and disclaimed the sermon. Fénelon, in turn, declared that bad rulers in general, and not Frontenac in particular, were meant; but his future conduct belied his words. He made the cause of Perrot his own, and was active in his behalf. Frontenac summoned him before the council on a charge of inciting sedition. The Abbé d'Urfé, a relative of Fénelon, tried to smooth matters over with the Count, but he fared very ill, and was shown the door for his pains.

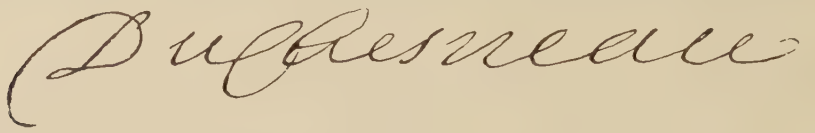
[1] Abbé Salignac de Fénelon was a half brother of the author of *Télémaque*. Hildreth appears in doubt about him, and says: "Could this have been the Abbé and Saint Sulpitian priest of the same name, afterward so famous in the world of religion and letters? If so, his two years' missionary residence in Canada seems to have been overlooked by his biographers. Yet he might have gathered there some hints for *Telemachus*." See the "Note on the Jesuit Relations," *sub anno* 1666–1667. Ferrot's character is drawn in Faillon (iii. 446) from the Sulpitian side.

And now ensued a remarkable trial before the council at Quebec. Perrot was charged with disobeying the royal edicts and of treating with contempt the royal authority. The other offender was the Abbé Fénelon. Frontenac had a pliant council to second his wishes. The councillors owed their positions to him, and as he had power to remove them when he willed, they soon ranged themselves on his side, and showed that they were friendly to his cause. Perrot challenged the right of the Governor-General to preside over the case, on the ground that he was a personal enemy. He moreover objected to several of the councillors on various pretexts. New judges were appointed for the trial, and Perrot's protests continuing, the board overruled all his exceptions, and the trial went on. Other sessions proceeded to try the impetuous Abbé. Frontenac presided at the council-board. When Fénelon was led in, he seated himself in a vacant chair, though ordered to stand by the Count, and persisted in wearing his hat firmly pressed over his brows. Hot words passed between the Governor and his prisoner, the result of which was that the Abbé was put under arrest. The priest assumed that Frontenac had no right to try him, and that the ecclesiastical court alone had jurisdiction over him. The war grew fierce, and the councillors, half afraid of what they had done, at length decided to refer the question to the King himself. The Governor of Montreal and the vehement Abbé were accordingly despatched to France, and all the documents relating to the case were sent with them. Frontenac presented his side of the argument in a long despatch, which, considering his provocation, was moderate in tone and calm in judgment. The Abbé d'Urfé accompanied the prisoners to France, and as his cousin, the Marquise d'Allègre, was shortly to marry Seignelay, the son of Colbert, he hoped much from his visit. Perrot, too, was not without friends near the King. Talon, his wife's relative, held a post at court. Besides these influences the Church had other means at work.

In April, 1675, the King and Colbert disposed of the Perrot question. They wrote calmly and with dignity. His Majesty condemned the action of Perrot in imprisoning Bizard, and had the offender confined for three weeks in the Bastile, "that he may learn to be more circumspect in the discharge of his duty, and that his example may serve as a warning to others." He had already endured ten months of imprisonment in Quebec. The King also told Frontenac that he should not, "without absolute necessity," cause his "commands to be executed within the limits of a local government, like that of Montreal, without first informing its governor." Perrot was sent back to his government, and ordered to apologize to Frontenac. Colbert informed the Count of the approaching marriage of his son with the heiress of the house of Allègre, and hinted at the closeness of the connection which existed between the Abbé d'Urfé and himself. Frontenac was urged to show the Abbé "especial consideration," and also to treat with kindness the priests of Montreal. Fénelon was sustained in his plea that he had the right to be tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal; but his superior,

Bretonvilliers, absolutely forbade him to return to Canada, and wrote a letter to the members of his order at Montreal, telling them not to interfere in worldly matters, but to profit by the example of M. Fénelon. He advised them "in matters of this sort" to "stand neutral."

The King now resolved to make some administrative changes in New France, with a view, it is probable, of lessening the hold of Frontenac on the body politic of the colony. He announced that the appointment of councillors should rest with him alone in future, and promptly filled the vacant office of Intendant by appointing M. Duchesneau, whose duty it was



to watch the Governor-General, and to manage certain details in executive work. Bishop Laval, who had been absent from Canada for some time, also returned to his see; and Frontenac, who had ruled alone, without bishop, without intendant, and with a subservient council, viewed the new aspect of affairs with ill-concealed disgust. It was not long before the threatened outbreak came. The question of selling brandy to the natives, which had disturbed previous administrations, became again a contention between governor and prelate.[1] The Intendant promptly sided with the Bishop and the clergy, while the latter stood aside at times, and allowed their secular ally to lead the contest, content themselves to give him arguments and advice. One question after another arose. Many of them were of trivial import, but all of them were vexatious and troublesome, and to an imperious mind like Frontenac's galling in the extreme. The old rivalry of Church and State in the matter of honors and precedence became troublesome. Colbert wrote strongly to Duchesneau, and ordered him not to make himself a partisan of the Bishop, and to pay proper respect to Frontenac. The latter was commanded to live in harmony and peace with the Intendant. The King was incensed at the constant bickerings, and ordered Frontenac to conform to the practice prevailing at Amiens, and to demand no more. The Intendant was roundly berated by the minister, who told him that he ought to be able to understand the difference between a governor and an intendant, and that he was completely in the wrong as regards the pretensions he had assumed.

But if the religious quarrel was settled for a time, a civil difficulty arose. The council no longer remained a mere body for registering the Governor's decrees. The new order of things gave him a council of men who were opposed in many respects to his views and interests. The King had reinstated Villeray, — a former councillor, and a man wholly under Jesuitical influence. Frontenac, who thought him a "Jesuit in disguise," called him "an intriguing busybody, who makes trouble everywhere." The attorney-

[1] [Margry (i. 405) gives an account of the deliberations on the selling of liquor to the savages, which were held at Quebec Oct. 10, 1678 — Ed.]

general was Auteuil, another enemy of the Governor. Tilly was a third member, and the Count at first approved of him; but his opinion was destined to change. Under the ordinance of Sept. 23, 1675, the Intendant, whose official position entitled him to rank as the third man in the colony, was appointed president of the council. His commission, dated June 5, 1675, read: "Présider au Conseil Souverain en l'absence du dit Sieur de Frontenac." Frontenac was styled in many of the despatches which reached him from the Crown, "Chief and President of the Council." A conflict of authority immediately arose, and both Governor and Intendant claimed with equal right (one would suppose from the royal documents in their possession) the position of presiding officer. Frontenac bided his time, and remained patient until late in the autumn, when the last vessel cleared for France. Then he asserted his claim to the title of chief and president, and demanded to be so styled on the records of the council. In support of his contention he exhibited a letter from Louis dated May 12, 1678. The Intendant, supported by the clergy, opposed the claim. The Governor refused to compromise, scolded Duchesneau, and threatened to teach him his duty, while he ordered Villeray, Tilly, and Auteuil to their houses, and commanded them to remain there until he should give them permission to leave.[1] Auteuil begged the King to interfere, and the wearied monarch wrote to his representative: "You have wished to be styled Chief and President on the records of the supreme council, which is contrary to my edict concerning that council; and I am the more surprised at this demand, since I am very sure that you are the only man in my kingdom who, being honored with the title of governor and lieutenant-general, would care to be styled chief and president of such a council as that of Quebec." So the King refused the title of president to either, and commanded that Duchesneau should perform the duties of presiding officer. He also said that Frontenac had abused his authority in exiling two councillors and the attorney-general for so trivial a cause, and warned him to be careful in future, lest he be recalled from office. Several other disputes in the council followed. They were mostly about matters of small moment, but they created great storms while they lasted. The imprisonment of Councillor Amours by order of the Count for an alleged infringement of the passport law, and the presence of his wife with a petition to the council for redress and a speedy trial, caused much discussion and provoked very strong feeling.

Duchesneau was the object of Frontenac's constant displeasure. On him was visited his fiercest wrath; but the Intendant bore it all with varying moods, — sometimes disputing with Frontenac, at others abusing him, and occasionally treating the diatribe of vituperation which flowed from the Count's lips with lofty disdain and scorn. He wrote letters to the Court, and

1 Auteuil's house was situated about two leagues away from Quebec. Villeray went to the Isle of Orleans, and Tilly took up his quarters at the house of M. Juchereau, of St. Denis, near Quebec.

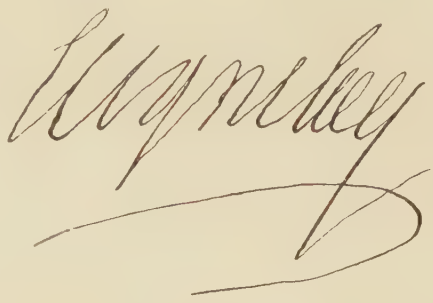
lodged complaint after complaint against the Governor, who, in his turn, pursued the same course. Out of the council quarrels others involving more important issues sprang up, and nearly all the people in the colony were in time driven to one side or the other. With Frontenac, as Parkman points out, were ranged La Salle and his lieutenant, La Forêt; Du Lhut, the leader of the *coureurs de bois;* Boisseau, agent of the farmers of the revenue; Barrois, the Governor's secretary; Bizard, lieutenant of his guard; and others. Against him were the members of the council, Aubert de la Chesnaye, Le Moyne and his sons, Louis Joliet, Jacques Le Ber, Sorel, Boucher, Varennes, and many of the ecclesiastics. Duchesneau received replies from the Court, and they must have been galling to his pride and self-respect. He was plainly assured that though Frontenac was not blameless, his own conduct was far more open to censure. In this strain Colbert's letter continued, and he said: "As to what you say concerning his violence, his trade with the Indians,[1] and in general all that you allege against him, the King has written to him his intentions; but since, in the midst of all your complaints, you say many things which are without foundation, or which are no concern of yours, it is difficult to believe that you act in the spirit which the service of the King demands, — that is to say, without interest and without passion. If a change does not appear in your conduct before next year, his Majesty will not keep you in your office." The King returned his usual advice to Frontenac, told him to live on good terms with the Intendant, and prohibited him from trading with the Indians. But neither the letters of the King nor of the minister had much effect apparently, for the Governor and Intendant continued to war against each other. At last the King wrote thus sharply to the Count: —

"What has passed in regard to the *coureurs de bois* is entirely contrary to my orders, and I cannot receive in excuse for it your allegation that it is the Intendant who countenances them by the trade he carries on, for I perceive clearly that the fault is your own. As I see that you often turn the orders I give you against the very object for which they are given, beware not to do so on this occasion. I shall hold you answerable for bringing the disorder of the *coureurs de bois* to an end throughout Canada; and this you will easily succeed in doing if you make a proper use of my authority. Take care not to persuade yourself that what I write to you comes from the ill-offices of the Intendant. It results from what I fully know from everything which reaches me from Canada, proving but too well what you are doing there. The Bishop, the ecclesiastics, the Jesuit Fathers, the supreme council, and, in a word, everybody, complain of you; but I am willing to believe that you will change your conduct, and act with the moderation necessary for the good of the colony."

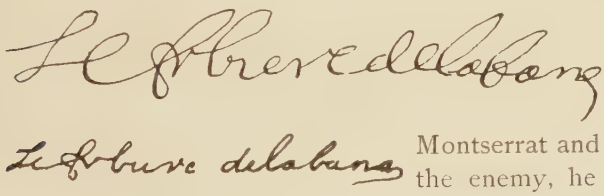
Frontenac felt the ground slipping under him, but he continued his suicidal policy, while he wrote to some friends in France to recount his woes, and to solicit their good offices with the Court.

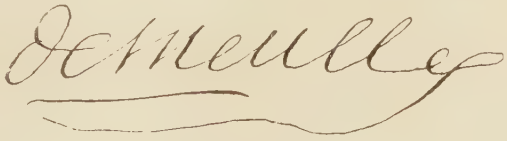
[1] [Duchesneau issued in 1681, at Quebec, a Memoir on the tribes from which peltries were derived. An English translation of this is in 2 *Pennsylvania Archives*, vi. 7. — Ed.]

Seignelay came to power in 1681. He was the son of Colbert, and a man of very good abilities, matured under the eye of the great minister. He soon received long letters from Frontenac and the Intendant, filled with accusations and counter-charges. Affairs had gone badly during the spring and summer of 1681. Some blows were struck, and a resort to sharper weapons was hinted at. The Intendant, Frontenac said, had barricaded his house and armed his servants. Duchesneau declared that his son had been beaten by the Governor for a slight offence, and afterward imprisoned in the château for a month, despite the pleadings of the Bishop in his behalf. These matters, and much more, were regularly reported to the new minister. Both officials stated that furs had been carried to the English settlements, and each blamed the other for it. The Intendant maintained that the faction led by Frontenac had spread among the Indians a rumor of a pestilence at Montreal, for the purpose of keeping them away from the fair, and in order that the bushrangers might purchase the beaver-skins at a low price. The allegation was groundless, but it had its effect at court. The King, tired at last of the constant strife, recalled both Frontenac and Duchesneau in the following year.



Frontenac's successor was Le Fèbvre de la Barre, a soldier of repute who had already rendered his country good service in the West Indian war, where he had gained some notable successes against the English. For reducing Antigua and Montserrat and recapturing Cayenne from the enemy, he had been promoted to a lieutenant-generalship. He arrived at Quebec with Meules, his intendant, at a most inopportune time. The great fire of August 4, 1682, had laid waste fifty-five houses, and destroyed vast quantities of goods. The new Governor took up his residence in the château, while Meules went to live in a house in the woods. La Barre was a very different man from Frontenac. He had nothing of that soldier's peculiar energy or determination. He was a temporizer, cold and insincere, and no match for Indian diplomacy or duplicity. The Indians gauged his capacity before he had been in Canada many weeks, and as compared with Frontenac they felt that they had a child to deal with. The King had given him pretty plain





instructions. He was ordered not only to apply himself to prevent the violence of the Iroquois against the French, but also to endeavor to keep the savages at peace among themselves, and by all means to prevent the Iroquois from making war on the Illinois and other tribes. He was further told that his Majesty did not attach much importance to the discoveries which had lately been made in the countries of the Nadoussioux, the River Mississippi, and other parts of North America, deeming them of but slight utility; but he enjoined that the Sieur de la Salle be permitted to complete the exploration he had commenced, as far as the mouth of the Mississippi, "in case he consider, after having examined into it with the Intendant, that such discovery can be of any utility."

It was not long before La Barre exhibited his total incapacity for governing Canada. He lowered the French prestige in the eyes of the Indians of the Confederacy, and left his red allies to their fate. He was jealous of La Salle, and hated him cordially. Charlevoix accounts for his incapacity by saying that "his advanced age made him credulous when he ought to be distrustful, timid when he ought to be bold, dark and cautious towards those who deserved his confidence, and deprived him of the energy necessary to act as the critical condition of the colony demanded when he administered its affairs." He was not very old, being little more than sixty years of age at the time. He found the Iroquois flushed with victory over their enemies, and displaying an arrogant bearing towards the French. He wrote a braggart letter to the King; said that with twelve hundred men he would attack twenty-six hundred Iroquois, and then begged for more troops. To the minister he wrote that war was imminent, and unless those "haughty conquerors" were opposed, "half our trade and all our reputation" would be lost. He was always talking about fighting; but those about him knew that he rarely meant all he said. He developed a remarkable predilection for trade, and soon after his arrival allied himself to several of the Quebec merchants, with that object in view. This gave grave offence to all those who could not participate. The tables were turned, and the old enemies of Frontenac now reigned, while La Salle and La Forêt were deposed. Du Lhut, the leader of the *coureurs de bois*, and a quondam friend of the Ex-Governor, transferred his allegiance to the new authority. La Barre soon showed his feeling towards La Salle. Jacques Le Ber and Aubert de la Chesnaye were early despatched to Fort Frontenac, which La Forêt commanded, with orders to seize it and all it contained, on the flimsy pretext that La Salle had failed to fulfil the conditions of his contract. La Forêt was offered his former position as commander of the fort; but he refused to be false to his chief, and sailed for France in high dudgeon.

On the 10th of October a conference on the state of affairs with the Iroquois was held. There were present the Governor, Intendant, Bishop of Quebec, M. Dollier, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice of Montreal, Father Dablon, the Governor of Three Rivers, and others. The meeting

was harmonious, and the importance and danger of the situation seemed to be understood. A most uninviting prospect lay before the little colony. The Iroquois, well armed and equipped, could strike first the Illinois, and in turn all the tribes in alliance with the French, and so divert the peltry trade into other channels, and finally fall upon the French themselves. It was stated at the conference that the English were responsible for this, and that they had been urging the Iroquois on for four years, in order to ruin Canada, and to secure for themselves and the Dutch the entire peltry trade of the continent. It was determined to make an effort to prevent the Iroquois from bringing upon the friendly Indians the fate they had previously dealt upon the Algonquins, the Andastes, the Abenaquis, and others. It was finally thought that the war might be averted for a time, and meanwhile the King was urgently importuned for troops and two hundred hired men, besides arms and ammunition.

The attack came sooner than had been expected. In the early spring the Seneca Indians were reported to be moving in considerable force on the Illinois, the Hurons, and the Ottawas of the lakes. La Barre, greatly excited, hastened his preparations. He wrote to France, explaining the posture of affairs, and demanding more troops. Du Lhut was sent with thirty men, with powder and lead, to Michillimackinac, to strengthen the defences there, and to guard the stores, of which there was a great quantity. Charles Le Moyne was despatched to Onondaga with a mission, which so far succeeded that forty-three Iroquois chiefs went to Montreal to meet the Governor. They arrived on the 14th of August. A council was held, and over two thousand crowns' worth of presents were distributed among the Indians. La Barre demanded friendship for the Ottawas, the Algonquins, and the Hurons; but there was no firmness in his demands. He was timid, and when the fierce Senecas declared that the Iroquois made war on the Illinois because they deserved to die, he said nothing, and his silence sealed their doom. The delegates were asked to agree not to plunder French traders who were provided with passports. They agreed to this. It was a suggestion of La Chesnaye, and evidently aimed at La Salle, though La Barre denied that he gave the Iroquois liberty to plunder and kill the explorer. By a sort of poetic justice, the first captures the Iroquois made under their agreement were two boats belonging to La Chesnaye, which had gone up the lakes during Frontenac's reign, and had no passports. On the 30th of August the deputies left Montreal.

La Barre continued his trading operations. He and La Chesnaye anticipated the annual market at Montreal, by sending up a large fleet of vessels, and securing enormous quantities of furs, a great part of which was clandestinely sent to Albany and New York. The Governor's persecutions of La Salle went on, and in the spring he sent the Chevalier de Baugis, with canoes and soldiers, to seize his fort of St. Louis; but his scheme suffered defeat. La Barre now prepared in earnest for war, and was resolved to attack the Senecas in the following August

(1684). On the 31st of July the King wrote that he had sent him three hundred soldiers.

It has been said that the English colonists of New York had instigated the Iroquois to make war on the French. Colonel Thomas Dongan, Lord Tyrconnel's nephew, and a Roman Catholic, was governor of New York. Though he had respect for the King of France, he nevertheless thought himself entitled to a share of the fur-trade, which had so long remained a monopoly of the Canadians, and he decided to make some effort to obtain it. The Duke of York warned him against offending the French governor; but while Dongan publicly professed to observe his Grace's injunction, he was really in frequent intrigue with the enemies of the French, and did all he could to provoke the Iroquois into making war on La Barre and his allies. The English had secured the allegiance of the five tribes of the Confederacy; the hatchet had been buried, and the song of peace had been sung. Dongan was wily, and got the Iroquois to recognize his king as their lawful sovereign. This would give him the command of the country south of the great lakes. The Indians readily promised, but without any intention of keeping their word. Their motive evidently was to make the most out of either party, and yield nothing. La Barre complained of the Senecas and Cayugas, and wrote to Dongan, telling him not to sell the offenders any arms or ammunition, and saying that he meant to attack the tribes for plundering French canoes and attempting a French fort. Dongan wrote in reply that the Iroquois were British subjects, and if they had done wrong, reparation should be made. Meanwhile he urged La Barre not to make his threatened attack, and begged him to keep the peace between the two colonies. Next he laid the complaints of the French governor before the chiefs, who on their part declared that the French had carried arms to their foes, the Illinois and the Miamis. Dongan handled the question with tact, and played upon the fears of the Indians so well that he got them to consent to his placing the arms of the Duke of York in their villages, which he said would save them from the French. They further agreed that they would not make peace with Onontio without consent of the English. In return for this, Dongan promised aid in case their country should be invaded.

The English Governor was a believer in prompt action, and he hastened to have the Iroquois' subjection to King Charles confirmed. To that end he despatched a Dutch interpreter, Arnold Viele by name, to Onondaga. But Charles Le Moyne and the crafty Jesuit Jean de Lamberville, who knew the Indian character well, were there before the envoy of the English arrived. Le Moyne had been sent to invite the tribes to a conference with La Barre. The chief of the Onondagas was Otréouati, or Big Mouth, a famous orator and influential warrior, and ranking as one of the ablest Indians of the Confederacy. He was unscrupulous as regards keeping promises, but his valor and astuteness were beyond question. The two Frenchmen had spent some days in trying to induce the Onondagas to get

their Seneca confederates to make peace with the French. The Senecas at first would not hear of it; but finally they succumbed to Big Mouth's eloquence, and gave the Onondagas power to complete a treaty for them. Viele appeared on the scene; but he was no diplomat, and he shocked the pride of the Onondagas when he told them, with more arrogance than policy, that the English were masters of their territory, and that they had no right to hold council with the French without permission. It was natural that Big Mouth should become indignant: he asserted the independence of his tribe, and told his warriors and chiefs not to listen to the proposals of a man who seemed to be drunk, so opposed to all reason was what he uttered. The end of it was that Big Mouth and his sachems consented to accompany Le Moyne to meet La Barre.

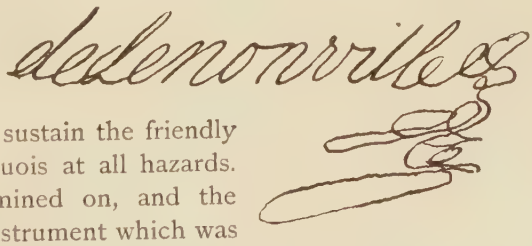
The French Governor was ready for the campaign, having seven hundred Canadians, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred mission Indians under his command. He was to be reinforced by a band of Indians on the way, and a company of *coureurs de bois* led by Du Lhut and La Durantaye. More warriors were to join him at Niagara. He declared that he intended to exterminate the Senecas; but his Intendant, Meules, had no faith in his promises, and kept urging him on, as if he feared that he would make peace without striking a blow, — a fatal course in his eyes. He wrote to the Governor two letters on the subject, concluding the second one thus: "If we do not destroy them, they will destroy us. I think you see but too well that your honor and the safety of the country are involved in the results of this war." He also sent a despatch to Seignelay, which contained the customary complaints against La Barre, and some vigorous comments on his conduct in trading against the orders of the King, and his warlike pretensions which meant nothing. "I will take the liberty to tell you, Monseigneur," he wrote, "though I am no prophet, that I discover no disposition on the part of Monsieur the General to make war against the aforesaid savages. In my belief, he will content himself by going in a canoe as far as Fort Frontenac, and then send for the Senecas to treat of peace with them, and deceive the people, the Intendant, and, if I may be allowed with all possible respect to say so, his Majesty himself." La Barre proceeded on his way with his army, and after encountering a few adventures *en route*, finally reached Fort Frontenac, where the whole party encamped. A malarial fever broke out among the French, and many died. La Barre himself was greatly reduced and wasted by the disease, and so disheartened that he abandoned his plans, and sought to secure peace on the most favorable terms that he could get. He no longer thought of punishing the Senecas, nor had he the courage to invite them to council. He crossed over to La Famine with a few men, and sent Le Moyne to beg the tribes to meet him on their side of the lake. Here provisions grew scarce, and hunger and discontent prevailed among his followers. Several soldiers languished through disease; others died.

La Barre awaited the return of his envoy with fear and suspense. When

at last he came on the third of the month, with Big Mouth and thirteen deputies, the Governor received the party with what grace he could. He had sent his sick men away, and told the Indians that his army was at Fort Frontenac; but the keen-witted savages were not deceived, and one of their number, understanding French, gathered during the evening from the conversation of the soldiers the true condition of affairs. The council was held on the 4th of September; and Baron La Hontan, who was present, gives a long account of what took place. The Governor related the offences of the Iroquois; charged them with maltreating and robbing the French traders in the country of the Illinois, with introducing the "English into the lakes which belong to the King, my master, and among the tribes who are his children, in order to destroy the trade of his subjects," and with having made "several barbarous inroads into the country of the Illinois and Miamis, seizing, binding, and leading into captivity an infinite number of those savages in time of peace. . . . They are the children of my king, he said, "and are not to remain your slaves. They must at once be set free and sent home." Should such things occur again, he was ordered, he said, to declare war against the offending tribes. He agreed to grant them terms of peace, provided they made atonement for the past, and promised good conduct for the future; otherwise he would burn their villages and destroy them. Big Mouth rose and replied. He very soon convinced La Barre of the hopelessness of his task. "Listen, Onontio," he said. "I am not asleep, my eyes are open; and by the sun that gives me light I see a great captain at the head of a band of soldiers who talks like a man in a dream. He says that he has come to smoke the pipe of peace with the Onondagas; but I see that he came to knock them in the head if so many of his Frenchmen were not too weak to fight. I see Onontio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by smiting them with disease. Our women had snatched war-clubs, and our children and old men seized bows and arrows, to attack your camp, if our warriors had not restrained them, when your messenger, Akouessan, appeared in our village." The savage refused reparation; said that his tribe had been born free, and that they depended on neither Onontio nor on Corlaer, the governor of New York. "We have knocked the Illinois in the head," he continued, "because they cut down the tree of peace and hunted the beaver on our lands. We have done less than the English and the French, who have seized upon the lands of many tribes, driven them away, and built towns, villages, and forts in the country." La Barre, greatly disgusted, retired to his tent, and the council closed. In the afternoon another session was held, and in the evening a treaty was patched up. Big Mouth agreed to some reparation, which, however, he never made; but he would not consent to make peace with La Barre's allies, the Illinois, whom he declared he would fight to the death. He also demanded that the council fire should be removed from Fort Frontenac to La Famine, — a concession yielded by La Barre without hesitation, but which Frontenac would never have granted.

The Governor returned home the next day, broken and dispirited; his men followed, wasted by fever and hunger, as best they could. This disgraceful truce was treated with contempt by all, the allies of the French included; and for a while it was thought that the friendly tribes would go over to the enemy in a body, make peace with their old rivals, and divert the channel of trade from Montreal to Albany. Lamberville only indorsed the Governor's conduct, and styled him the "savior of the country" for having made peace at so critical a time. Meules and the others viewed the matter differently, and the former wrote to the minister that the Governor's excuses were a mere pretence; that he had lost his wits, had gone off in a fright, and since his return his officers could not abstain from showing the contempt in which they held him. The King, much annoyed, recalled La Barre, and the Marquis de Denonville, a colonel in the Queen's regiment of Dragoons, full of piety and a devoted friend of the Jesuits, was sent to succeed him.

Denonville had been thirty years a soldier, and was much esteemed at court for his valor. It was agreed on all hands that the King's selection of him for governor of the troubled colony was a very good one. But results proved it otherwise; and Denonville's administration was even more unfortunate than that of La Barre, whose disastrous reign had brought Canada almost to the brink of ruin. When he arrived at Quebec in the autumn of 1685, with his wife and a portion of his family, he found little to cheer him. One hundred and fifty of the five hundred soldiers who had been sent out to Canada by King Louis had perished of scurvy while crossing the sea. The colony was in great disorder; the Iroquois roamed at their pleasure, destroyed when and whom they pleased, and vented their anger with all the cruelty and ferocity of their savage nature on such tribes as favored the French. The Indian allies of the French who had been abandoned by La Barre had little respect left for the nation whose chief representative had so badly served them. But now all this would be changed. Denonville was ordered to ratify the peace with the Iroquois or to declare war, the alternative being left to his own discretion. The King, who felt acutely the disgrace of La Barre's abandonment of the Illinois, enjoined the new governor to repair that mischief as speedily as possible, to sustain the friendly tribes, and to humble the Iroquois at all hazards. A vigorous policy was determined on, and the King had great faith in the instrument which was to effect it. Denonville was given especial instructions regarding the English of New York, who at this time were constantly intriguing with the enemies of New France. Dongan understood the country well, and was striving with all his energy to secure control of the valuable fur districts south of the Great Lakes. To that end he was always in treaty with the Iroquois,



who promised and disregarded their promises as exigency or humor suited them. The King was fully aware of this, and his instructions of March 10, 1685, are especially clear on this point. First, the French ambassador at London, M. Barillon, was desired to demand from the King of England "precise orders obliging that Governor [Dongan] to confine himself within the limits of his government, and to observe a different line of conduct toward Sieur de Denonville, whom his Majesty has chosen to succeed said Sieur de la Barre." And Denonville was himself told that "everything must be done to maintain good understanding between the French and English; but if the latter, contrary to all appearances, excite and aid the Indians, they must be treated as enemies when found on Indian territory, without, at the same time, attempting anything on territory under the obedience of the King of England." Meanwhile, the English were seizing posts in Acadia[1] which had always been occupied by the French. Denonville was ordered to send to the governor at Boston to explain the points of boundary, and to request him to confine himself to his own limits in future. Perrot, the former governor of Montreal, was now governor of Acadia, and he was instructed to keep up a correspondence with Denonville, and to take his orders from him.[2]

The struggle for the supremacy was between Denonville and Dongan. The latter dared not act as openly as he wished, for his King, being often at the mercy of Louis, kept saddling him with mandates which he could not disobey, though they sorely touched his pride. He could, however, intrigue; and the convenient Iroquois, who found their gain in the dissensions of the English and French, and who soon learned to encourage the rivalry between the two white powers encroaching on their domain, turned listening ears to his words. Louis favored the schemes of Denonville, which had been formed on a very extensive scale, and involved the mastery of the most fruitful part of the entire continent. New York had at this time about 18,000 inhabitants; Canada's population was 12,263; but while the latter people were united in furthering French aims, the inhabitants of New York, save the active traders of the colony who were concerned in the purchase of peltries, took very little interest in Dongan's plans. The English colonies were all deeply interested in checking French advancement, but they declined to help the government of New York, and Dongan was forced to fight his battles single-handed. His king furnished him neither money nor troops; but the assistance rendered, though sometimes in a negative sense, by the Iroquois league, was often formidable enough, and served his purpose on occasion. On the part of Denonville there were, of course, counter-intrigues. Through Lamberville he distributed presents to the Iroquois, and Engelran spent many days at Michillimackinac trying to stay the Hurons, Ottawas, and other lake tribes from allying themselves with the

[1] See chap. iv.

[2] [A *Mémoire* (Nov. 12, 1685) *du Marquis de Denonville sur l'État dn Canada, 12 Novembre*, is in Brodhead, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 280; and an English translation is in 2 *Pennsylvania Archives*, vi. 24. Various other documents of this period are referred to in the *Notes Historiques* of Harrisse's *Notes*, etc. — Ed.]

English, as they threatened to do. It was clear that a bold stroke must be made to keep these hitherto friendly tribes on the side of the French, and the only means which seemed to be open was war with the Iroquois. The latter were also intriguing with their old enemies, and trying to make treaties independently of the French. The *coureurs de bois*, too, were a source of danger and annoyance. La Barre had not kept them in check, and Denonville speedily discovered that they acted as though they regarded the edicts of the King as so much waste paper. It was impossible to prevent their selling brandy to the Indians, and demoralizing and debauching the tribes. Denonville wrote for more troops, and seemed anxious to deal a decisive blow at the Iroquois. Affairs were in a deplorable state, and nothing short of a stalwart exhibition of French power would save the country. "Nothing can save us," wrote the Governor, "but the sending out of troops and the building of forts and blockhouses. Yet I dare not begin to build them; for if I do, it will bring down all the Iroquois upon us before we are in a condition to fight them."

A brisk correspondence sprang up between the Governor of New York and Denonville. At first it was polite and complimentary, but ere long it assumed a sterner character, and strong language was employed on both sides. A good deal of fencing was indulged in. There were charges and countercharges. Each blamed the other for keeping bad faith, and each side made every effort to out-manœuvre the other. Denonville saw with military prescience that forts would be of service at several important points. One of these sites was situate on the straits of Detroit, and he hastened to send Du Lhut with fifty men to occupy it. The active woodsman promptly built a stockade at the outlet of Lake Huron, on the western side of the strait, and paused there for a while. News reached Denonville that Dongan contemplated sending, early in the spring of 1687, an armed expedition in the direction of Michillimackinac to forestall the trade there. He complained to the Governor of New York, and advised the King about it. To Du Lhut he issued orders to shoot down the intruders so soon as they presented themselves. Dongan dissembled until he heard from England, when he altered his tone, and wrote a letter much subdued in temper to Denonville. The French Governor replied, and counselled harmony.

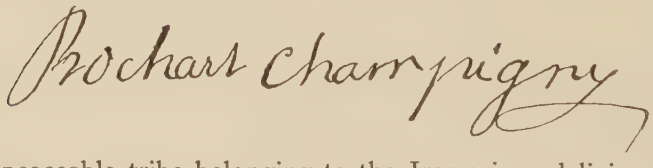
Intelligence from the north reached Denonville about this time, which gave him considerable satisfaction. The French had resolved in the spring of 1686 to assert their right to the territory of Hudson's Bay. An English Company had established a post at the mouth of Nelson River, on the west, and on the southern end there were situate forts Albany, Hayes, and Rupert, each garrisoned by a few men. The rival of this Company was the Company of the North, a Canadian institution, which held a grant from Louis XIV. The French had decided to expel the English from their posts, and Denonville approved the plan, and sent Chevalier de Troyes with a band of eighty men to assist the Company. Forts Hayes and Rupert were assaulted at night. In each instance the attack was a surprise, and the

posts readily fell into the hands of the invaders. Several of the English were killed, others were wounded, and the rest were made prisoners. Iberville attacked a vessel anchored near the fort; three of its defenders were killed, and others, including Bridger, the governor for the Company, were captured. At Fort Albany, which was garrisoned by thirty men, a stouter resistance was offered, but at the end of an hour it was silenced, and shared the fate of its fellows.

Meanwhile, a treaty of neutrality had been signed at Whitehall, and there was peace between England and France for a time. The document bears date Nov. 16, 1686. On Jan. 22, 1687, instructions were sent to Governor Dongan to maintain friendly relations with Denonville, and to give him no cause for complaint. The King of France delayed despatching his orders to Canada until four months had elapsed.

Denonville was ordered to punish the Iroquois. He had eight hundred regulars, and a further contingent of eight hundred men were promised in the spring. Abundant means, too, had been provided; namely, 168,000 livres in money and supplies. Denonville was in high feather, and everything turned in his favor for a time. He had got rid of his meddling Intendant, Meules, and a pious man like himself had been sent in his place. This was Champigny. The Bishop, St. Vallier, had only words of praise for the administration as it then stood: Church and State were in perfect harmony at last. The attack on the Iroquois towns was well planned, and every precaution was observed to keep the matter secret until the time for action had arrived. Dongan, however, learned the truth from straggling deserters, and he was not slow in informing the Iroquois of the warlike designs of the French.

Denonville's plan was to proceed to the Senecas, the strongest castle and the nearest to Niagara, his course taking him along the southern shore, which he elected on account of certain advantages which it possessed over the northern side. The little army moved out from Montreal on its career of conquest June 13, 1687. After some difficulty, Fort Frontenac was reached. Champigny and his men had arrived a few days in advance of the main army; and through his exertions thirty men and ninety women and children of a peaceable tribe belonging to the Iroquois and living in the neighborhood, were decoyed into the fort under the pretence of being feasted, and treacherously captured. Other Indians were taken in the same way, many of whom were afterward consigned to the French galleys. The Iroquois were more chivalrous. They had Lamberville, the Jesuit missionary whom Denonville had basely left to his fate, in their power, and could easily have destroyed him, but they allowed him to go free and join his friends. At the fort there were assembled, according to Denonville, about two thousand



men, regulars, militia, and Indians. Eight hundred troops, newly arrived from France, had been left at Montreal to protect the settlers and property there. More allies were awaiting his commands at Niagara; they consisted of one hundred and eighty Frenchmen, and four hundred Indians, under Tonty, La Durantaye, and Du Lhut. The journey to Niagara had not been made without hardship and adventure. The Indians of the party had been difficult to manage, and for a while Durantaye was not sure that they would remain with him. Some of the English traders, commanded by Johannes Rooseboom, a Dutchman, on the way to Michillimackinac with goods, were encountered, and Durantaye hastened with one hundred and twenty *coureurs de bois* to meet them. The party, consisting of twenty-nine whites and five Mohawks and Mohicans, were threatened with death if they resisted. They immediately surrendered, and were despatched to Michillimackinac as prisoners. The merchandise they brought was parcelled out among the Indians. This stroke was the means of saving Durantaye's life, and the Indians with him became in consequence his sure allies. While making for Niagara, McGregory's canoes were met, and the same fate overtook them. This capture proved important, for McGregory had with him a number of Ottawa and Huron prisoners whom the Iroquois had taken. It was the Englishman's intention to restore these captives to their countrymen, to make good the terms of the triple alliance which had been entered into by the English, the Iroquois, and the lake tribes. McGregory's capture destroyed the whole arrangement, and he and his companions, with those of Rooseboom, were ultimately sent as prisoners to Quebec.

The war-party at Niagara were ordered to repair to the rendezvous at Irondequoit Bay, on the border of the Seneca country, and Denonville went to meet them. His command numbered three thousand men, for a reinforcement of Ottawas of Michillimackinac who had refused to follow Durantaye, having altered their minds, now joined the party. The host was well officered. The leaders were Denonville, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, — an excellent soldier, fresh from France, — La Durantaye, Callières, Du Lhut, Tonty, Berthier, La Valterie, Granville, Longueil, La Hontan, De Troyes, and others. On the afternoon of the 12th of July, at three o'clock, having already despatched four hundred men to garrison the redoubt, which had been put in a condition of defence for the protection of the provisions and canoes, Denonville began his march across the woods to Gannagaro, — twenty-two miles distant. Each man carried with him food for thirteen days. Three leagues were made the first day, and the party camped for the night. Two defiles were passed the next morning. The heat was intense, and the mosquitoes were very troublesome, but the men moved on in pretty fair order. So far, only a few scouts of the enemy had been encountered. At two o'clock the third defile was entered. It had been the Governor's intention to rest here, but having been notified by scouts that a considerable party of the Senecas was in the neighborhood, an advance was made by Callières, who was at the head of the three companies commanded by

Tonty, Durantaye, and Du Lhut, besides the detachment of Indians. This body, which formed the vanguard of the army, pushed rapidly through the defile, unconscious of the fact that an ambuscade of Senecas, three hundred strong, was posted in the vicinity. When they reached the end they came upon a thicket of alders and rank grass. At a given signal, the air was rent with defiant shouts, and a host of savages leaped from their places of concealment, and sent a volley of lead into the bewildered French, while the three hundred Senecas who lined the sides of the defile sprang upon the van. They had thought to crush their enemy at a blow, but Denonville, hurrying up with his sixteen hundred men, soon spread consternation into their ranks. The firing was heavy on both sides; but the Senecas were defeated with considerable slaughter, and finally fled from the scene in dismay. Denonville wrote that "all our Christian Indians from below performed their duty admirably, and firmly maintained the position assigned to them on the left." The French did not follow the flying savages, being too much fatigued by their long march. Their loss was five or six men killed and twenty wounded. Among the latter was Father Engelran, who was seriously injured by a bullet.

The next morning the army pressed forward again, but no Seneca warriors were to be seen. The villages were deserted, and ten days were occupied by the soldiers and their allies in reducing the Indian villages and destroying the provisions and stores which the Senecas had left behind them. Denonville withdrew on the 24th with his army, and set out for Montreal. On the way back he ordered a stockade to be built at Niagara, on the site of La Salle's old fort, between the River Niagara and Lake Ontario. Montreal was reached on the 13th of August.[1]

Denonville thought that he had made a successful stroke; but he was over sanguine. After this his power seemed to wane, and his prestige went down. Dongan was savage when he heard of the imprisonment of McGregory and Rooseboom, and wrote a sharp letter demanding their return. Denonville refused, and upbraided him for having assisted the savages. He thought better of his resolution as his anger cooled, however, and in a few weeks released his prisoners.

Dongan called a conference of the Iroquois, and told them to receive no more Jesuit missionaries into their towns. He called them British subjects, and said that they should make no treaties with the French without asking leave of King James. The humbled Indians promised obedience.

Hitherto, Dongan had not succeeded in getting his king to recognize the Iroquois as his subjects. On the 10th of November, 1687, however, a

[1] [Cf. chap. vi. For this campaign against the Senecas, see Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 286 (and his authorities); Parkman's *Frontenac* (references p. 156); Denonville's Journal, translated in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. ix.; St. Vallier, *État Présent*; Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*; La Hontan; Tonty; Perrot; La Potherie; and the statements of the Senecas, in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. iii. Squier's *Aboriginal Monuments of New York* gives a plan of the Seneca fort: and O. H. Marshall identifies its site in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii. — Ed.]

warrant arrived from England authorizing the Governor to protect the Five Nations, and to repel the French from their territory by force of arms, should they attack the villages again. The commissioners appointed, in accordance with the terms of the neutrality treaty signed at Whitehall, had the boundary question before them. Both French and English claimed the Iroquois, and the matter was assuming a serious aspect. News came in August, 1688, to Denonville, that the subject of dispute would receive prompt and satisfactory settlement.[1]

Meanwhile, the French Governor made several overtures to obtain peace with the Iroquois; but their demands were greater than his pride could grant. Dongan's hand was seen in every proposition formulated by the savages. Father Vaillant was sent to Albany to try and obtain easier conditions, but the effort was vain; and the Iroquois absolutely refused to make peace or grant a truce until Fort Niagara was razed, and all the prisoners restored. These terms were exasperating; but when Denonville learned that Dongan had been recalled by King James, his spirits rose, and he felt as if a great load were removed. The governments of New York, New Jersey, and New England became one administration, and Sir Edmund Andros was named governor over all. So far as Denonville was concerned, he was no better off than before, for the new Governor insisted on all of Dongan's old demands being satisfied, and actually forbade peace with the Iroquois on any other basis.

The state of Canada at this time, 1688, was most deplorable. Disease had broken out, and the mortality was fearful. Before spring, ten only, out of a garrison of one hundred men at Niagara, survived the scourge. The provisions had become bad, and prowling Senecas prevented any of the inmates of the fort from venturing out to look for food. Fort Frontenac's garrison was also sadly diminished, and the distress throughout the country, from famine and disease, was very great. To add to the Governor's troubles, the fur-trade had languished. Bands of Iroquois menaced the unfortunate settlers. The fields were untilled; danger lurked in every bush, and destitution, gaunt and grim, abounded everywhere. Peace must be had at any price, if the colony would live, and Denonville resolved to make it. He had become unmanned by his trials, and though he still had a force of fourteen hundred regulars, some militia, and three or four hundred Indian converts, he hesitated to venture on war. He wrote to the Court for eight hundred more troops, and the King sent him three hundred. Then he made up his mind to fight. He planned a campaign against the Iroquois which he

[1] [Margry (i. 37) gives a statement, made in 1712 by Vaudreuil and Bégon, collating the *Relations* from 1646 to 1687, to show the right of the French to the Iroquois country. Denonville's *Mémoire* (1688), on the limits of the French claim, is translated in 2 *Pennsylvania Archives*, vi. 36. The *Mémoire* of the King, addressed to Denonville, explanatory of the claim, is translated in French's *Historical Collections*, 2d series, i. 123. The *Catalogue* of the Canadian Parliament, 1858, p. 1617. no. 39, shows a large map of the French possessions, defining their boundaries by the English, copied from an original in the French archives. The claim was pressed of an extension to the Pacific. See Greenhow's *Oregon*, p. 159. — Ed.]

hoped would break their power. He proposed to divide his army into two sections, with one of which he might crush the Onondagas and Cayugas, and with the other the Mohawks and Oneidas. He asked the King for four thousand troops, and the Bishop backed his demand with an earnest prayer; but France could not spare them, and the Governor was left to his own resources. He fell back on the arts of the diplomat, and invited the wily old chief Big Mouth, to a council at Montreal. The savage consented to come, despite his promises to the English, and presently he appeared before Denonville at the head of twelve hundred warriors. He addressed the Marquis haughtily, and said that he would make peace with the French, but the terms would not include their allies: the Iroquois must be left free to attack them when and how they would. Denonville, like De la Barre on a former occasion, dared not refuse, and the red allies of the Governor were again abandoned to their fate. A declaration of neutrality was drawn up June 15, 1688, and Big Mouth promised that deputies from the whole Confederacy should proceed to Montreal and sign a general peace.

A chief of the Hurons named Kondiaronk, or the Rat, heard of the treaty about to be made. Should it be ratified, it meant the destruction of his own tribe. He took steps to prevent it, and with a band of trusty savages intercepted the Iroquois deputies on their way to Montreal, at La Famine, and attacked them. One chief was killed, a warrior escaped with a broken arm, and the rest were wounded and taken prisoners. The Rat told his captives that Denonville had informed him that they were to pass that way, and when the captives replied that they were envoys of peace, the crafty Huron assumed an injured air, liberated them all save one, and giving them guns and ammunition, told them to go back to their people, and avenge the treachery of the French. They departed, breathing vengeance against Onontio. The wounded Iroquois who had been in the *mêlée* escaped, however, learned a different story at Fort Frontenac, where he was well received, and hastened to Onondaga charged with explanations. The Iroquois pretended to be satisfied, and Denonville believed them; but ere long he was terribly undeceived. From one pretext and another, the treaty was not signed.

And now occurred one of the direst and blackest tragedies in the annals of New France. During the night and morning of the 4th and 5th of August, 1689, some fourteen or fifteen hundred Iroquois landed at Lachine. A tempest was raging at the time, and taking advantage of the storm and the darkness, they crept noiselessly up to the houses of the sleeping settlers, and, yelling their piercing war-whoop, fell upon their defenceless and surprised victims. The houses were fired, and the massacre of the inmates which followed was swift and frightful. Few escaped; men, women, and children were indiscriminately slain in cold blood. It is estimated that more than two hundred persons were butchered outright, and one hundred and twenty were carried off as prisoners and reserved for a fate worse than death. Women were impaled, children roasted by slow fires, and other horrors

were perpetrated. Three stockade forts, Rémy, Roland, and La Présentation, respectably garrisoned, were situate in the vicinity of this bloody deed. Two hundred regular troops were encamped less than three miles away. Their officer, Subercase, was at the time in Montreal, some six miles from his command. A fugitive from the massacre alarmed the soldiers, and then fled to Montreal with his terrible news. Flying victims of the tragedy were seen at intervals pursued by Iroquois, but the presence of the file of soldiers prevented them from following up their prey. It was far into the day when Subercase returned, breathless, from Montreal. He hastily ordered his troops to push on, and, reinforced by one hundred armed settlers and several men from the forts, marched towards the encampment of the Indians. Most of the latter were helplessly drunk by this time, and Subercase could have killed many of them easily; but just as he was about to strike, Chevalier de Vaudreuil appeared upon the scene, and by orders of Denonville commanded the gallant officer to stand solely on the defensive. In vain Subercase protested; but the orders of his superior could not be gainsaid. The troops were marched back to Fort Roland, a great opportunity for revenge was lost, and the fatal pause cost the French very dearly. The next day the savages were early on the alert. Eighty men hurrying from Fort Rémy to join Vaudreuil were cut to pieces, and only Le Moyne, De Longueil, and a few others succeeded in making their way through the gate of the fort which they had just abandoned. The Indians continued their fiendish work. They burned all the houses and barns within an area of nine miles, and pillaged and scalped, without opposition, within a circle of twenty miles. The miserable policy of Denonville completely paralyzed the troops and inhabitants, and they allowed the Iroquois to remain in the neighborhood until they had surfeited themselves with slaughter, though with a little determined effort they could readily have driven them off. At length the savages withdrew of their own accord, and as they passed the forts they called out loud enough for the inmates to hear, "Onontio, you deceived us, and now we have deceived you."

Other troubles overtook the colony: the rebellion broke out in England; war was declared between Britain and France, in the midst of which Denonville was recalled, and brave, chivalrous Frontenac, now in his seventieth year, crossed the seas again, his past conduct forgiven by King Louis, to administer for a second time the affairs of Canada.

It was in the autumn of 1689, and by evening, that Frontenac was received at Quebec with fireworks and jubilations. His passage had been long, and the season was too far advanced to render it practicable to organize an attack on New York by sea and land, in accordance with secret instructions which he had received on leaving France;[1] so the con-

[1] [There is in the *Massachusetts Archives: Documents collected in France*, iv. 7, a paper dated Versailles, 10 Mai, 1690, entitled "Projet d'une Expédition contre Manat et Baston," which is accompanied by a map showing the coast from New York to the Merrimack, in its relation to Lakes Champlain and Ontario. The English towns are marked "bourg;" only "Baston" is put down by name. See Notes following chap. iv. — ED.]

dition of affairs in Canada at once engaged his attention. These were far from cheerful. Frontenac hastened to Montreal, only to meet the garrison of Fort Frontenac, which had abandoned and partially destroyed the works, and were withdrawing under Denonville's orders. In every direction the settlements were in terror of the stealthy Iroquois; and even the tribes of the lakes, having found under Denonville's policy that little dependence could be placed in the support of the French, were showing signs of revolt. Frontenac had induced a council of the Iroquois; but his proposition for peace was only met by the revelation of their alliance with the tribes of Michillimackinac. The French Governor acted promptly: he despatched a force, accompanied by the astute Nicholas Perrot, to endeavor to prevent any overt act on the part of the Ottawas.

Meanwhile, to punish the English and to impress the savages, Frontenac sent out three expeditions. The first, from Montreal, fell suddenly upon Schenectady, then the farthest outpost of the English in New York, and perpetrated a fearful massacre. The invaders retired, not without pursuit, leaving some prisoners in the hands of the English, who learned from them that Frontenac designed to make a more formidable attack in the spring. Schuyler, of Albany, appealed to Massachusetts for help; but the New England colonies soon had a sharper appeal for their own defence. Towards the end of January, Frontenac's second expedition had left Three Rivers, and two months later it fell suddenly upon Salmon Falls, a settlement on the river dividing Maine from New Hampshire, where the force plundered and killed whom they could, and retreated so as to intercept and join the third of the French parties, which had left Quebec in January, and was now on its way to attack Fort Loyal, at the present Portland. After a vigorous resistance, Captain Sylvanus Davis, a Massachusetts man, who commanded the English, surrendered that post upon terms which were not kept. Murder and rapine followed, as in the other cases, while Davis and some others were led captive to Canada. Frontenac received the New Englander kindly, who was still in his power when another and more famous New Englander appeared before Quebec with a fleet, in pursuance of a part of a plan of attack on New France which the English were now bent on making in retaliation. At a congress in May, 1690, held in New York, the scheme was arranged. A land force under Fitz-John Winthrop was to march from Albany to Montreal. It fell (as we shall see) by the way, and disappeared. A sea-force was to sail from Boston and attack Quebec at the same time. This for a while promised better.

During the previous year the Boston merchants had lost ships and cargoes by French cruisers, which harbored at Port Royal.[1] Another chapter tells the story of the reprisals which the aroused New Englanders made, and how Sir William Phips had returned with captives and booty to Boston, just after the Massachusetts Government had begun to make preparations to carry out their part of the campaign as planned in New York. There

[1] [French armed vessels had also attacked Block Island. *Historical Magazine*, xvii. 324. — Ed.]

is no test of soldiership like success, and the adventitious results of the Port Royal expedition stood with the over-confident and unthinking for much more than they signified, and Phips of course was put in command of the new Armada. Money was borrowed, for recurrent frontier wars had drained the colonial treasuries. England was appealed to; but she refused even to contribute munitions of war. So with a bluff and coarse adventurer for a general, with a Cape Cod militia-man in John Walley as his lieutenant, with a motley force of twenty-two hundred men crowded in thirty-two extemporized war-ships, and with a scant supply of ammunition, the fleet left Boston Harbor in August, 1690.

Meanwhile Frontenac at Quebec had, during the winter, been constructing palisades in front of the inland side of the upper town, and leaving the work to go on, had gone up in the early summer to Montreal, to be elated by the arrival of a large fleet of canoes bringing furs from the upper lakes. All this indicated to Frontenac that his policy of reclaiming to the French interest the tribes about Michillimackinac was working successfully, and he rejoiced. While here, however, he got news of Winthrop's force coming down Lake Champlain. It turned out that the English did nothing more than to frighten him a little by the sudden onset of a scouting party under John Schuyler, which fell upon the settlement at La Prairie, and then vanished.

Suddenly again word came of a rumor of a fleet having sailed from Boston to attack Quebec. Frontenac made haste to return to that town, and was met on the way by more definite intelligence of the New England fleet having been seen in the river. When he reached Quebec, not a hostile sail was in sight. He was in time, and his messengers were already summoning assistance from all distant posts.

In coming up the river, Phips had captured two vessels, so that the fleet which two or three days after Frontenac's arrival slowly emerged into the basin of Quebec counted thirty-four vessels to the anxious eyes of the French. Phips's prisoners had told him that there were not two hundred men in the works; Frontenac knew that his reinforcements had already made his garrison about twenty-seven hundred men.

Phips promptly sent a summons to surrender. His messenger was blindfolded and tumbled about over the barricades, to impress him with the preparations of defence. Frontenac disdained to take the offered hour for consideration, and sent back his refusal at once. Phips dallied with councils of war till he heard the acclamations with which the Governor of Montreal was received, when he brought several hundred additional men to the garrison. Walley was at last landed with a force of twelve or thirteen hundred, who experienced some fighting, which they conducted courageously enough, but without result, and suffered much from the inclemency of the weather. Without waiting for the land troops to reach a position for assaulting the town, Phips moved up his ships, and began a bombardment, wholly ineffectual, and drew a return which damaged him so

considerably, that, after renewing it the following day, he finally drew off. There was another delay in rescuing Walley and his men, who were at last re-embarked under cover of the night. The fleet now fell down the river, stopped to repair, and then made their way back to Boston, straggling along for several months, some of the vessels never reaching home at all. The miseries of mortification and paper money were all that New England had to show for her bravado.[1]

To Frontenac the success of his defence was a temporary relief, so far as the English were concerned, though the New England cruisers continued

[1] The Editor is indebted to Francis Parkman, Esq., for the use of a fac-simile of the contemporary manuscript plan (preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris), of which the topographical part is shown, somewhat reduced, in the annexed facsimile (Parkman's *Frontenac*, p. 285). The rest of the sheet contains the following: —

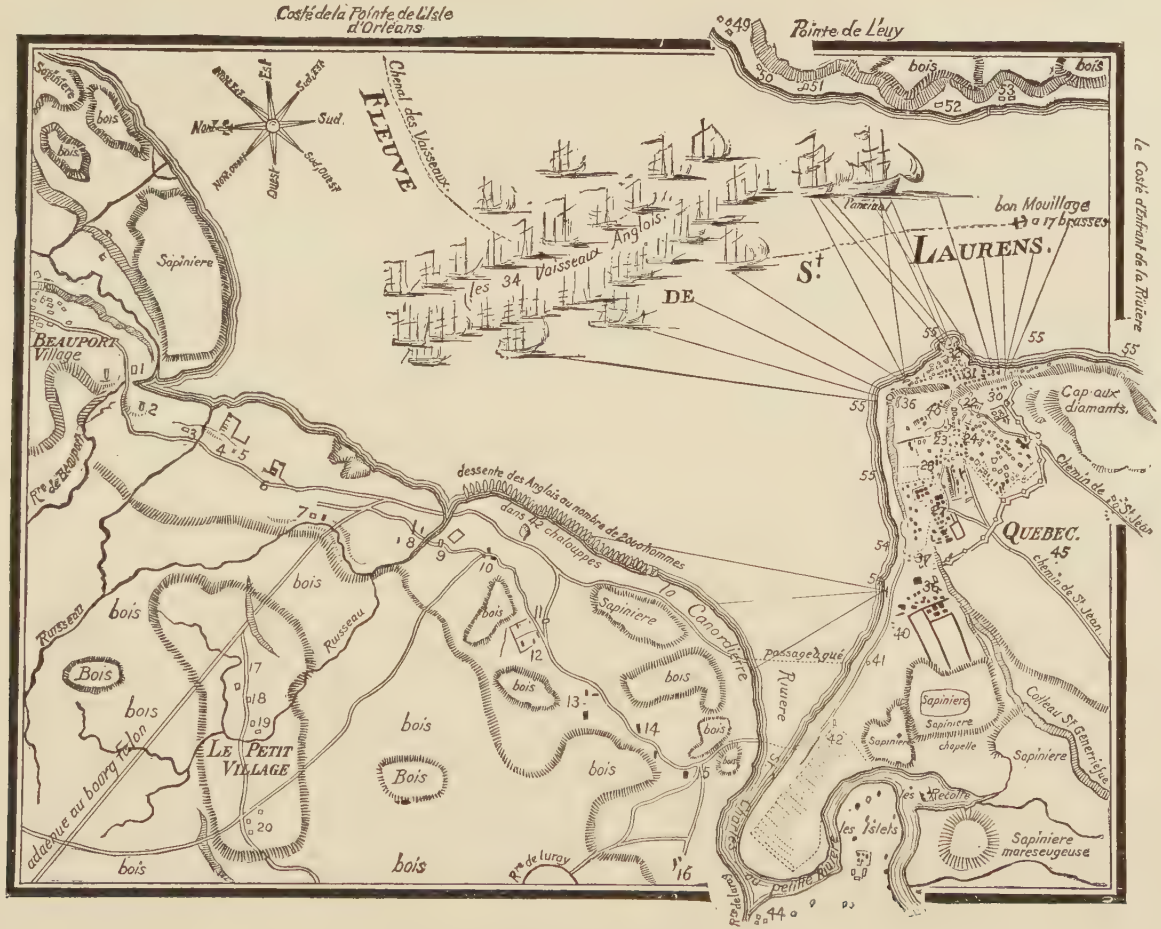
"Plan de Québec, et de les environs, en la Nouvelle France, Assiegé par les Anglois, le 16 d'Octobre, 1690, jusqu'au 22 du dit mois qu'ils sen allerent, apprés avoir este bien battus, par Mr. Le Comte de Frontenac, gouverneur general du Pays.

"Les noms des habitans et des principaux Endroits de Quebec.

1. Maison Seigneurial de beauport.
2. pierre parent le Perre.
3. Jacque parent le fils.
4. aux R. P. Jesuistes.
5. pierre parent le fils.
6. la vefve de mathieu choset.
7. michel huppé.
8. Mr. de la Durantaye, Conseiller.
9. la vefve de paul chalifou.
10. Mr. de Vitray, Conceiller.
11. François retor.
12. Mr. denis.
13. Estienne lionnois.
14. Mr. Roussel.
15. Jean le normand.
16. Jean landron, ou est la briqueterie.
17. Joseph rancourt.
18. André coudray.
19. Jean le normand.
20. Mr. de St. Simeon.
21. le petit passage.
22. Le fort St. Louis, ou loge Mr. le comte de frontenac.
23. ntre dame, et le Seminaire.
24. hospice des R. P. Recolletz.
25. les R. P. Jesuistes.
26. les Ursulines.
27. l'hospital.
28. les filles de la Congregation.
29. Mr. de Villeray, premier Conseiller.
30. batterie de huict pieces.
31. Le Cul de Sac, ou les barques, et petits vaisseaux hivernent.
32. platte forme ou est une batterie de 3 p.
33. Place ou est le buste du Roy, pozé sur un pied d'estal, en 1686, par Mr. de Champigny, Intendant.
34. Mr. de la Chesnays.
35. autre batterie de trois pieces.
36. autre batterie de trois pieces,
37. le Palais ou logent l'Intendant, le greffier du Conseil Souverain, et ou sont aussy les Prisons.
38. boulangerie a Mr. de la Chesnays.
39. la Maison blance a Mr. de la Chesnay.
40. moulin a Mr. de la Chesnays.
41. moulin au Roy.
42. moulins aux R. P. Jesuistes.
43. Maison a Mr. Talon, autrefois Intendant du Pays.
44. Ntre dame des anges.
45. Vincent poirié.
46. L'Esuesché, a Mr. de St. Vallier.
47. Jardin de Mr. de frontenac.
48. Moulin a Mr. du Pont, ou est une batterie de trois pieces.
49. louis begin.
50. Jacque Sanson.
51. Pesche aux R. P. Jesuistes.
52. pierre Leyzeau.
53. Mathurin choüet, ou est un four a chaux.
54. batterie de trois pieces pour deffendre le passage de la petitte Rre.
55. Canots, pour la decouverte pendant la nuit.

Par le sr de Villeneuve ingénieur du Roy."

Harrisse, *Notes*, etc., no. 243, cites this plan, and, no. 244, refers to a map of a little different title by Villeneuve, preserved in the Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies at Paris. Leclerc, *Bibliotheca Americana*, no. 2,652, notes another early manuscript copy of this plan (Harrisse's no. 243) in a collection of maps of the 18th century, which he prices at 800 francs. He calls the plan "tres belle carte manuscrite et inédite," not aware of the reduced engraving of it issued by Van der Aa, of which there is a copy in a collection of maps (no. 50) formed by Frederick North, and now in Harvard College Library.



Attack on Quebec.

to intercept his supplies in the Gulf. But the Iroquois wolves began to prowl again. Taunted by their savage allies for their inertness, the English and Dutch of Albany once more raided towards Montreal, under Peter Schuyler, and, inflicting more damage than they received, successfully broke through an ambuscading force on their retreat. All this irritated Frontenac. He prayed his King for help to destroy New York and Boston; and when a false report reached him that ten thousand "Bastonnais" had sailed to wreak their revenge for Phips's failure, he set vigorously to work strengthening the vulnerable points of his colony. He varied his activity with continued expeditions against the Iroquois, whether strolling or at home, striking particularly against the Mohawk towns; and he protected a great fleet of canoes which in the troublous times had been kept back in the upper country, and now brought credit and hope to the lower settlements in an ample supply of furs.

But during all this turmoil with public foes, Frontenac was having his old troubles over again with the Bishop and the Intendant. Outward courtesy and secret dislike characterized their intercourse, and discord went in the train of the Bishop as he made his pastoral tours among a people bound in honor and reverence to the Governor.

The reader must turn to another page[1] for the struggle with the "Bastonnais" which Frontenac was watching meanwhile in Acadia; but this did not divert his attention from the grand castigation which at last he was planning for the Iroquois. He had succeeded, in 1694, in inducing them to meet him in general council at Quebec, and had framed the conditions of a truce; but the English at Albany intrigued to prevent the fulfilment, and war was again imminent. Both sides were endeavoring to secure the alliance of the tribes of the upper lakes.[2] These wavered, and Frontenac saw the peril and the remedy. His recourse was to attack the Iroquois in their villages at once, and conquer on the Mohawk the peace he needed at Michillimackinac. It was Frontenac's last campaign. In July, 1696, he left Montreal with twenty-two hundred men. He went by way of Fort Frontenac, crossed Lake Ontario, landed at Oswego, and struggled up its stream, and at last set sails to his canoes on Lake Onondaga. Then his force marched again, and Frontenac, enfeebled by his years, was borne along in an arm-chair. Eight or nine miles and a day's work brought them to the Onondagas' village; but its inhabitants had burned it and fled. Vaudreuil was sent with a detachment, which destroyed the town of the Oneidas. After committing all the devastation of crops that he could, in hopes that famine would help him, Frontenac began his homeward march before the English at Albany were aroused at all. The effect was what Frontenac wished. The Iroquois ceased their negotiations with the western tribes, and sued for peace.

[1] Chapter iv.

[2] [Benjamin Wadsworth, of Boston, was sent by Massachusetts Bay to Albany in 1694 as one of the commissioners to treat with the Five Nations, and his Journal is in 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 102–110. — Ed.]

Meanwhile the crowns and diplomats of England and France had concluded the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. Frontenac got word of it from New York as early as February of 1698, and a confirmation from Louis in July. There were still some parries of diplomacy between the old French soldier and the English governor at New York, the Earl of Bellomont, each trying to maintain the show of a paramount authority over the Five Nations. But Frontenac was not destined to see the end. In November he sickened. His adversary, Champigny, mollified at the sight, became reconciled to him, and soothed his last hours. On the twenty-eighth he died, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and New France sincerely mourned her most distinguished hero.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

A LARGE portion of the manuscript sources of this chapter may be found in the invaluable collection of papers relating to New France in the Archives of the Marine and Colonies, the Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and in the office of the Provincial Registrar at Quebec. The archives of New York, Massachusetts, and Canada have made extensive transcripts from these documents, as follows: —

1. *Correspondance Officiele*, first series, vols. i.–v. There are transcripts from the Paris documents copied in France for the State of New York, and translations of them all are in the ninth and tenth volumes of the *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*.[1]

2. *Correspondance Officiele*, second series, vols. ii., iv.–viii. These papers exist in manuscript, and have not been translated into English. Copies are in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa, and in the Archives Office of the Quebec Government.

3. A collection of papers made by an agent of Massachusetts at Paris, relating chiefly to Acadian matters, contains also a good deal about Frontenac. They were copied afterward in Boston on an order from the Quebec Government, and are in the keeping of the Registrar at Quebec. The Quebec administration intends publishing these papers.[2] [They have since been published.]

The original Register and Proceedings of Council, in several volumes, remain in very fair condition in the archives of the Quebec Government. The first, a folio bound in calf and indexed, bears two titles, the first of which is, *Registre des Insinuations du Conseil Supérieur de* 1663 *à* 1682, ninety-six pages. It begins with the King's edict creating the Superior Council, dated April 1, 1663, and ends with the "Procès Verbal" of the Superior Council concerning the *Redaction* of the *Code Civil*, or ordinance of Louis, April 14, 1667.

The second title is, *Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France*, 1663 *à* 1676, two hundred and eighty-one pages. It begins with an *arrêt* of the Superior Council ordering the registration of the King's edict of April 1, 1663, creating the Superior Council for New France, to be held at Quebec; and ends with an interlocutory judgment, dated Dec. 19, 1676, upon a petition of François Noir Roland, complaining of his curate for refusing him absolution. This book, or register, is authenticated by the certificate of the Governor, Comte de Frontenac, on the first page, as follows: —

[1] [These are particularly described in chap. ix. of the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Note B, following this chapter. — Ed.]

"Le Présent Régistre du Conseil Souverain contenant trois cens soixante et seize feuillets a été ce jour paraphé *ne varietur* par premier et dernier, par nous Louis de Buade de Frontenac Chevallier Cõmte de Palluau, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Gouverneur et Intendant Général pour sa Majesté, en la Nouvelle France, Québec le quinzième Janvier Mille six cents soixante et quinze.

"FRONTENAC."

The entries in general throughout this end of the book are authenticated by the Governor, Bishop, Intendant, councillors, or Clerk of the Council; and the last, or two hundred and eighty-first leaf, is signed by Duchesneau, Intendant, and by Dupont, Member of the Council. Its general contents consist of a variety of orders, regulations, ordinances, judgments, civil and criminal, of the Superior Council, licitation, and adjudications of Crown estates, representations to the King and his ministers upon various subjects. There are four following volumes of this register in the archives at Quebec bearing the dates 1677 to 1680, 1681, 1681 to 1687, and 1688 to 1693, respectively. Each of these contains interesting details of Council proceedings during the first administration of Frontenac, the time of La Barre and Denonville, and during Frontenac's second term.

The *Édits et Ordonnances*, vol. iii., contain copies of the commissions of Frontenac, La Barre, and Denonville.

For particulars concerning the youth of Frontenac, his family and marriage, see Parkman's Appendix, where, among other sources, are named the journal of Jean Héroard, physician to the court, part of which is cited in *Le Correspondant* of Paris for 1873; Pinard, *Chronologie Historique-Militaire; Les Mémoires de Sully; Table de la Gazette de France; Mémoires de Philippe Hurault* (in Petitot); Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique, Biographique, et d'Histoire*, article, "Frontenac;" *Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux, ix.* (ed. Monmerqué); *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, vols. i.–iii.; and *Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon.*[1]

At Frontenac's death we have an *Oraison funèbre du Comte de Frontenac, par le Père Olivier Goyer*, preached from the text: "In multitudine videbor bonus et in bello fortis." A copy of this eulogy, containing a running commentary on its sentiments strongly adverse to the views of the orator, is preserved in the Seminary of Quebec. These comments, selections from which will be found in Parkman's *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.*, pp. 431–434, are, the Abbé Casgrain informs me, from the caustic pen of the Abbé Charles Glandelet, who came to Canada in 1675, and labored half a century in the Seminary. He was first theologian, superior, and confessor of the Ursulines, and died at Three Rivers at the advanced age of eighty years.

In considering the early printed books pertaining to our subject, we find them copious; but unfortunately we can scarcely account many of them trustworthy historical authorities, since prejudice and partisanship characterize them for the most part. The contests of the period greatly developed antagonisms, and it was not easy at the time to resist their influences. When we collate the writings of these contemporaries, we find a great lack of unity and sympathy, and this often extends to matters of trifling import. While thus in many ways these books fail of becoming satisfactory chronicles, as expressions of current partisan feeling they often throw great light on all transactions; and it is fortunate that in their antagonisms they give rival sentiments and opposing narratives, from which the careful student, with the help of official and other contemporary documents, may in the main satisfy his mind. Foremost among these early narratives is the *Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* of the Père Le Clercq: of this, however, as well as of the works of Hennepin and La Hontan, Tonti, and Marquette, an examination is made in another chapter.[2]

Of the more general early narratives, we must give a prominent place to a book which ranks as a respectable authority, and is frequently quoted, — Bacqueville de la Potherie's

[1] [Frontenac's will is printed in the *Magazine of American History*, June, 1883, p. 465. — ED.]

[2] Chapter viii.

Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale depuis 1534 *jusqu'à* 1701, Paris, 1722, four volumes. It is particularly useful in studying the relations of Frontenac and Callières, but as a contribution upon the condition of the Indians at that time it has its chief value.[1]

The *Histoire du Canada* of the Abbé Belmont, superior of the Seminary of Montreal during 1713 and 1724, is a short history of affairs from 1608 to 1700. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec printed, about 1840, in their *Collection de Mémoires*, a small edition of the work from a manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. It is very scarce, and copies are held at high prices, but the Society intend reissuing it shortly. Its general accuracy has not been questioned, and the views expressed are evidently the outcome of careful consideration.

The general history of the administrations of Frontenac, De la Barre, and Denonville is exhaustively treated by Father Francis-Xavier de Charlevoix; and the first place in time and importance among the contributions to the general history of Canada, of a date earlier than the present century, must be given to this Jesuit's *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par l'Ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, which was issued at Paris in 1744.[2] Shea says: "Access to State papers and the archives of the religious order to which he belonged, experience and skill as a practised writer, a clear head and an ability to analyze, arrange, and describe, fitted him for his work." Parkman, whose studies have made him a close observer of Charlevoix's methods, speaks of his "usual carelessness."

Charlevoix arrived in Canada in September, 1720, on an expedition to inspect the missions of Canada. His purpose took him throughout the limits of New France and Louisiana, and by the Illinois and the Mississippi to the Gulf. His work is commensurate with his opportunities; his faults and errors were those of his order; and his religious training inclined him to give perhaps undue prominence to the ecclesiastical side of his subject; and though the character of Frontenac suffers but little at his hands, some of the prejudice which Charlevoix bestows upon the Recollects necessarily colors his judgment in matters where the Governor came in contact with the Jesuits.

The Abbé La Tour, not a very trustworthy authority, wrote *Mémoires sur la Vie de M. de Laval, premier Évêque de Québec* in 1761, — a small book which is worth looking into, though not with the object of accepting all its statements. Frontenac is bitterly attacked, his faults magnified, and many serious charges are preferred against him. But one volume, however, was published, — a thin book of a few pages, bearing the imprint of Jean Frederick Motiens, Cologne, 1761. The second volume was never printed. The

[1] "M. Bacqueville de la Potherie a décrit le premier, d'une manière exacte, les établissemens des Français à Québec, à Montréal et aux Trois-Rivières: il a fait connaître surtout dans un grand détail, et en jetant, dans sa narration beaucoup d'intérêt, les mœurs, les usages, les maximes, la forme de gouvernement, la manière de faire la guerre et de contracter des alliances de la nation Iroquoise, si célèbre dans cette contrée de l'Amérique-Septentrionale. Ses observations se sont encore étendues à quelques autres peuplades, telle que la nation des Abénaquis, etc." — *Bib. des Voyages.*

Charlevoix describes it as containing "undigested and ill-written material on a good portion of Canadian history." Cf. Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 66; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. iii. no. 319; *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 63; Sabin, *Dictionary of Books relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time*, vol. i. no. 2,692; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 1,313. It usually brings about $10; a later edition, Paris, 1753, four volumes, is worth a little less.

[2] [There were two editions in this year; one in three volumes quarto, and the other in six volumes of small size, with the plates folded. Cf. Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. iii. p. 520; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 762, 763; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 282, who says that "an almost endless variety exists in the editions and changes of the parts in Charlevoix's three volumes." Heriot published an abridged translation of Charlevoix in 1804; but the English reader and the student of Canadian history owes a great deal to the version and annotations of Dr. Shea, which this scholar printed in New York, in six sumptuous volumes, in 1866–1872. (Cf. J. R. G. Hassard in *Catholic World*, xvii. 721.) Charlevoix's list of authorities with characterizations is the starting-point of the bibliography of New France. See Note C, at the end of this chapter. — Ed.]

copy of vol. i. which the Abbé Vemey possessed has this note in the latter's handwriting: "L'Abbé de la Tour de Montauban, author of this Life, of which the first volume only has been published, promised me a manuscript copy of the second volume; but he did not keep his word. Owing to the unfair manner in which Bishop St. Vallier was treated in the second volume, his family objected to its publication." The first volume ends with the year 1694. A second edition was published at Paris in 1762.[1]

A useful work, which should not be lost sight of in the consideration of this period, is *L'Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec, de* 1639 *à* 1716, by the reverend mother, Françoise Juchereau de St. Ignace, printed in Paris in 1751. It is rich in facts and incidents, and especially valuable as an authority on the missionary activity of the time, and on the attempt made by the clergy to evangelize the savages. A supplementary work, prepared with great care and thoroughness from original documents, and bearing the same title, has been written by the Abbé H. R. Casgrain. It is brought down to 1840, and was published at Quebec in 1878. The Abbé is one of the most industrious of the French-Canadian writers, and his book is full of interesting details and notes.[2]

In the third series of *Historical Documents* published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1871, is a paper entitled "Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre, tant des Anglais que des Iroquois, depuis l'année 1682." It contains a good account of the Lachine massacre, the truthfulness of which may be accepted. The author accompanied Subercase to the scene.[3]

In a collection entitled, *Bibliotheca Americana: Collection d'ouvrages inédits ou rares sur l'Amérique*, with the imprint of Leipsic and Paris, appeared the *Mémoire sur les Mœurs, Coustumes, et Réligions des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale, par Nicolas Perrot, publié pour la première fois par le R. P. Tailhan, de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1864. Considerable importance is attached to this memoir by Charlevoix, La Potherie, Ferland, and others, who frequently quote it in their narratives. Harrisse (no. 833) says that this work seems to have been written day by day from 1665 to the death of Perrot, who was an eye-witness of events under the administration of De la Barre, Denonville, and Frontenac. Colden gives a part of the narrative in his *History of the Five Indian Nations*, London, 1747.[4]

It remains to characterize the chief general works of our own time, which indicate the great interest with which modern research has invested the story of New France. The French-Canadians generally accept François-Xavier Garneau as their national historian, and his *Histoire du Canada* well entitles him to that consideration. He began writing his history in 1840, and published the first volume in Quebec in 1845, the second in 1846, and the third, treating of events down to 1792, in 1848. A new edition, revised and corrected, and brought down to 1840, appeared at Montreal from Lovell's press, in 1852, and a third edition at Quebec in 1859.[5] In 1882 the fourth edition, edited by his son,[6] was issued at Montreal by Beauchemin & Valois. It is enriched by many valuable notes, and has a recognized place as a work of conspicuous merit.

[1] [See the note on the *Jesuit Relations*, following chap. vi., *sub anno* 1659. — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. H. J. Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, p. 65. — Ed.]

[3] [Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 181, gives the authorities on the massacre. La Hontan's *Voyages; N. Y. Coll. Doc.*, vols. iii., ix.; Colden's *Five Nations*, p. 115; Smith's *New York*, p. 57; Belmont, *Histoire du Canada* in Faribault's *Collection de Mémoires*, 1840; De la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*. Shea says (*Charlevoix*, iv. 31), "There is little doubt as to the complicity of the New Yorkers in the Lachine massacre." — Ed.]

[4] Shea's *Charlevoix*, i. 94.

[5] An abridged edition was printed at Quebec in 1864. There is a bibliographical sketch of Garneau in the Abbé Casgrain's *Œuvres*, vol. ii., first issued separately in 1866. Cf. Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, p. 135. Chauveau's discourse at his grave is in the *Revue Canadienne*, 1867.

[6] Mr. Alfred Garneau, who has also written a readable paper entitled "Les Seigneurs de Frontenac," which was originally published in the *Revue Canadienne*, 1867, vol. iv. p. 136. The English reader is unfortunate if he derives his knowledge of the elder Garneau's historical work from the English translation by Bell, who in a spirit of prejudice has taken unwarrantable liberties with his original.

The ecclesiastical history of Canada is particularly illustrated by the Abbé J. B. A. Ferland in his *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, 1534–1759, Quebec, 1861 and 1865, two volumes. The author died while the second volume was passing through the press, and the completing of the publication devolved upon the Abbé Laverdière, one of the ablest scholars in the Canadian priesthood. Ferland had access to many documents of great interest, and his work shows judgment and a skilful handling of the rich store of materials within his reach.[1]

The *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*, with maps, by the Abbé Faillon, a Sulpitian priest of very great ability, was projected on an extensive plan. The author visited Canada on three separate occasions, spending several years in the country, and made the most of his opportunities in gathering his material, not only there, but from the archives of the Propaganda at Rome and from the public offices in Paris. The result was a work of high value; but it must be read with a full perception of the author's intention to rear a monument to commemorate the labors and trials of the Sulpitians of Montreal.

Parkman[2] thus speaks of him: "In all that relates to Montreal I cannot be sufficiently grateful to the Abbé Faillon, the indefatigable, patient, conscientious chronicler of its early history; an ardent and prejudiced Sulpitian; a priest who three centuries ago would have passed for credulous, and withal a kind-hearted and estimable man."

Three volumes only appeared, the first two in 1865, and the third in 1866. The latter deals with events covered by a small portion of the period discussed in this chapter. M. Faillon's death at Paris in 1871 prevented further publication; but he has left in manuscript enough prepared material to complete the work as far as the conquest of 1759–1760. The book was published anonymously, according to the custom of the Congregation of St. Sulpice.[3]

It is, however, to an American of Puritan stock that the story we are illustrating owes, for the English reader certainly, its most conspicuous recital. Two volumes of Francis Parkman's series of *France and England in North America* concern more especially the period covered by the administrations of Frontenac, De la Barre, and Denonville; these are his *Frontenac, and New France under Louis XIV.* (Boston, 1877), and his *La Salle, and the Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1879); but the consideration of the last of these belongs more particularly to another chapter. Of Parkman as an historian there has been a wide recognition of a learning that has neglected no resource; a research which has proved fortunate in its results; a judgment which, though Protestant, is fair and liberal;[4] a critical perception, which in the conflict of testimony keeps him accu-

[1] Shea gives a portrait of Ferland (*b.* 1805, *d.* 1864) in his *Charlevoix*, and it is repeated with a memoir in the *Historical Magazine*, July, 1865; cf. Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, p. 121. His strictures on Brasseur de Bourbourg's *Histoire du Canada* were published in Paris, in 1853. [Cf. chap. iv. of the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] *Old Régime*, p. 61. An account of his studies in Canadian history appeared at Montreal in 1879, in a memorial volume, *M. Faillon, Prêtre de St. Sulpice, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*. [See the note on the *Jesuit Relations*, following chap. vi., *sub anno* 1642; and Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, p. 118. — Ed.]

[3] The aims of partisanship always incite the detraction of rivals, and a story which is current illustrates the passions of rivalry, if it does not record the truth. Faillon's book is said to have given offence to the members of the Seminary at Quebec, and to have restored some of the old recriminating fervor which so long characterized the relations of the ecclesiastics of Montreal and Quebec. The priests of the Seminary are even credited with an appeal to the Pope to prevent the continuance of its publication. Whether this be true or not, historical scholarship is accounted a gainer in the antidote which the Quebec ecclesiastics applied, when they commissioned the Abbé Laverdière, since deceased, to publish his edition of Champlain.

[4] In the Preface to his *Old Régime*, and repeated in his *Frontenac*, Mr. Parkman, in referring to his conclusions, said: "Some of the results here reached are of a character which I regret, since they cannot be agreeable to persons for whom I have a very cordial regard. The conclusions drawn from the facts may be matter of opinion; but it will be remembered that the facts themselves can be overthrown only by overthrowing the evidence on which they rest, or bringing forward counter evidence of equal or greater strength." The chief questioner of Parkman's views has been the Abbé Casgrain, whose position is best understood from his *Une Paroisse Canadienne au XVII^e siècle*, Quebec, 1880. See Poole's *Index*, p. 973, for reviews of Parkman's books.

rate and luminous; and a style which has given his narrative the fascinations of a romance.

John Dennis wrote a tragedy, — *Liberty Asserted*, — which was acted in London in 1704, in which Frontenac was made a character, together with an English governor and Iroquois chief. Betterton acted in it. A romantic picture of the period is furnished in an amusing novel by M. Joseph Marmette, formerly of Quebec, but now of Paris, entitled *François de Bienville*. Frontenac figures as one of the principal characters in the story. Frontenac's expeditions against the Iroquois were made the subject of a poem by Alfred B. Street, — *Frontenac: or, the Atotarho of the Iroquois*. London and New York, 1849.

M. T. P. Bedard, of the Archives department, has a paper in the *Annuaire de l'Institut Canadien*, nos. 7 and 8, 1880, 1881, which discusses the first and second administrations of the Count, and sheds some light on the social and political aspects of the country between 1672 and 1698, the year in which Frontenac died.

George Stewart Jr

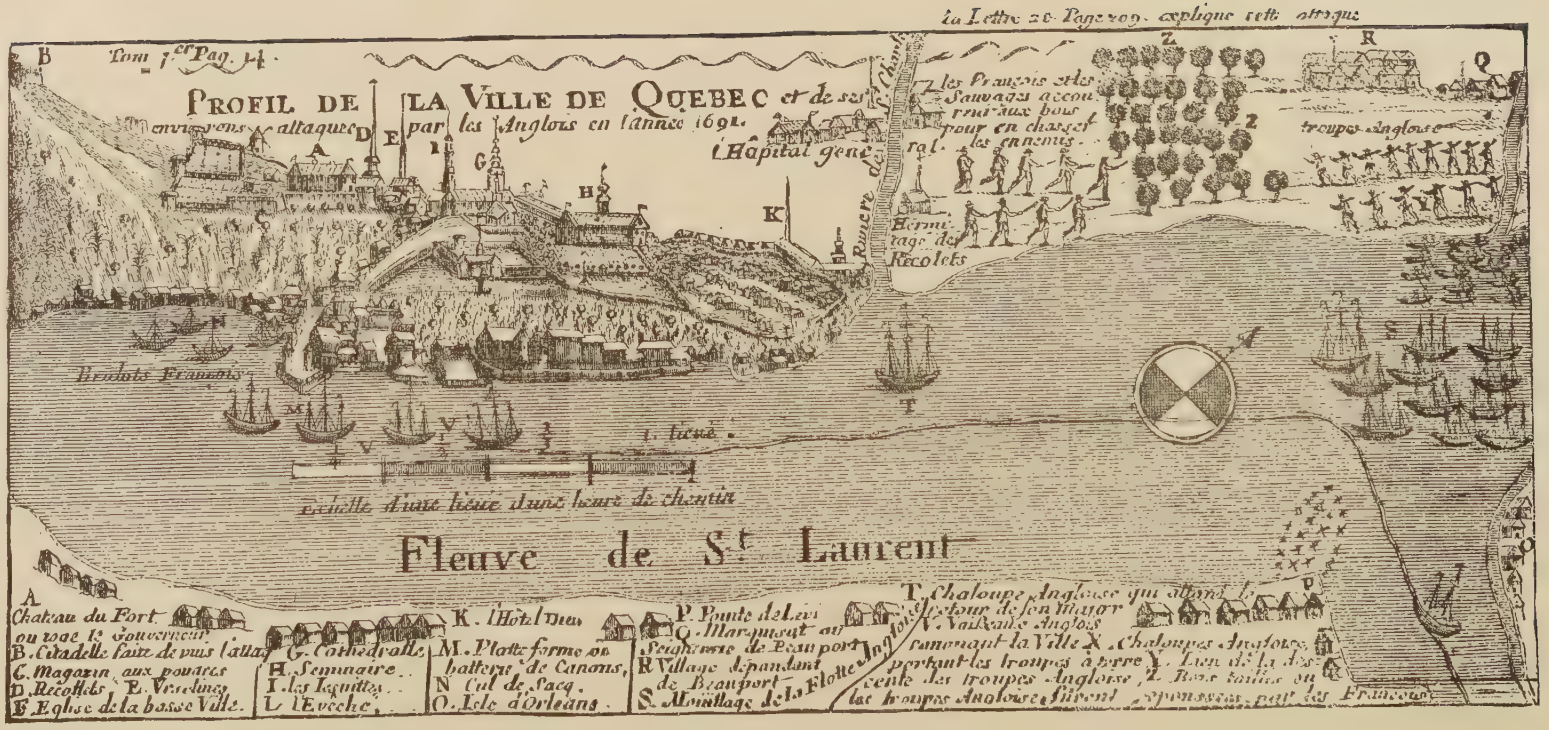
EDITORIAL NOTES.

A. FRONTENAC'S SECOND TERM. — Mr. Parkman has accompanied his narrative[1] of the attempt on Quebec in 1690 with an indication of the sources of the story. Besides the despatches of Frontenac and the *Relation* of Monseignat (both printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix.), there is an account taken by vessel to Rochelle, which is without place or date, and was probably there printed. It is entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada, à la descente des Anglais à Québec, au mois d'Octobre*, 1690, *faite par un Officier* (Harrisse, no. 168; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,426), and contains Phips's summons to Frontenac (also given in Mather's *Magnalia*, and repeated by Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 266), and Frontenac's verbal answer. The copy of Phips's summons sent to Paris by Frontenac is indorsed by him to the effect that he retained the original. The *Mercure de France* also issued an "Extraordinaire," with an account (Harrisse, no. 166,)

THE QUEBEC MEDAL.[2]

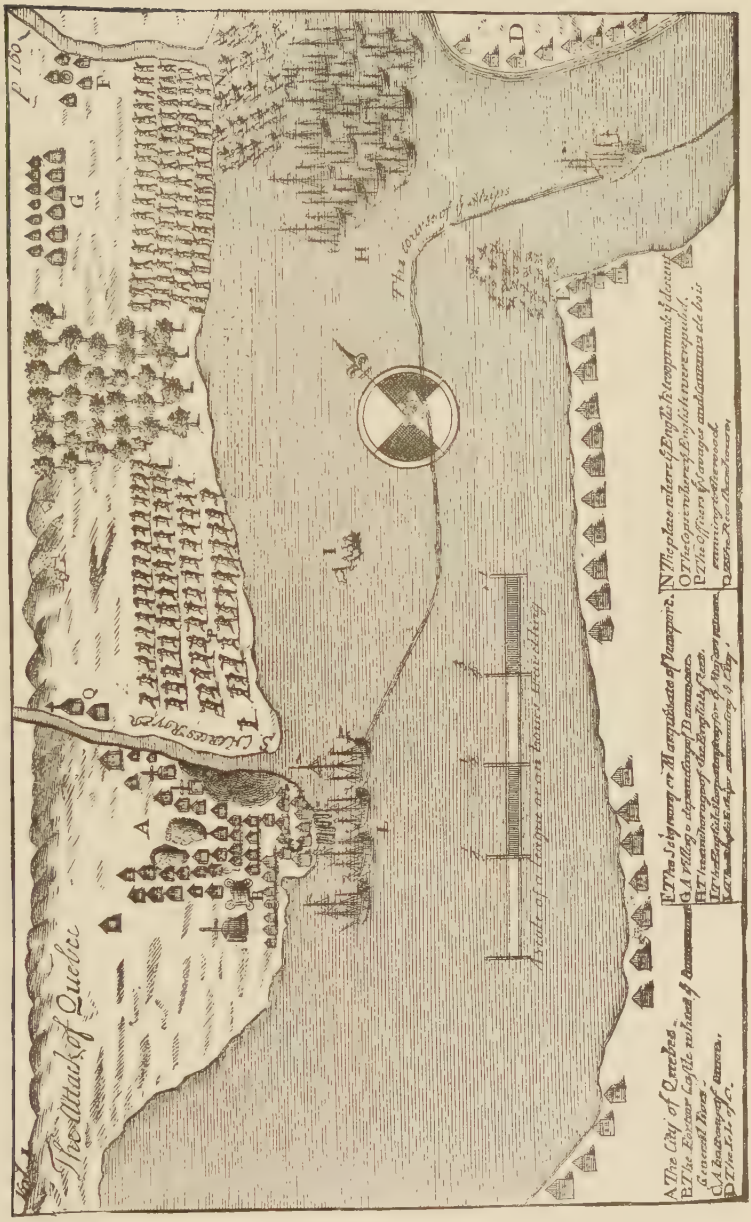
1 Mr. Parkman also made it the subject of an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, xxxviii. 719.

2 This is engraved from a copy kindly lent by W. S. Appleton, Esq., of Boston. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 296, and Shea's *Charlevoix*, iv. 190, and his *Le Clercq*, ii. 329. See the "Historic Medals of Canada," in the *Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. Transactions*, 1872–1873, p. 73.


PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE QUEBEC et de ses environs, attaquée par les Anglois en l'année 1690.
Fleuve de St. Laurent
Echelle d'une lieue d'une heure de chemin
Hôpital general
Hermitage des Recolets
Rivière de St. Charles
Les François et les Sauvages accourent aux bois pour en chasser les ennemis
troupes Angloises
Bateaux François
A. Château du Fort ou loge le Gouverneur.
B. Citadelle faite depuis l'attaque
C. Magazin aux poudres
D. Recollets. E. Versolines
F. Eglise de la basse Ville.
G. Cathedrale.
H. Seminaire.
I. les Ursulines.
L. l'Evêché.
K. l'Hôtel Dieu
M. Platte forme ou batteries de Canons,
N. Cul de Sacq.
O. Isle d'Orleans.
P. Pointe de Levi
Q. Marquisat au Seigneurie de Beauport
R. Village dépendant de Beauport
S. Montagne de la Flotte Angloise
T. Chaloupe Angloise qui alloit le tour de son Vaisseau
V. Vaisseaux Anglois
X. Chaloupes Angloises
Y. Lieu de la descente des troupes Angloises
Z. Basse batterie ou les troupes Angloises furent repoussées par les Francois

PLAN OF ATTACK ON QUEBEC, 1690.[1]

1 Fac-simile of an engraved plan in La Hontan's *New Voyages*, London, 1703, vol. i. p. 160. It was re-engraved for the French edition of 1705.


The Attack of Quebec
The Citadel
Cape Diamond
Cape Rouge River
The course of the ships
Battle of the ships boats & ships
A The City of Quebec
B The Palace Castle where the Governour resides
C A Battery of Guns
D The Lower Town
E The Scituation or Manspitate of Quebec
F The Governours Palace
G The Officers Lodgings
H The Common Lodgings
I The Jesuits Colledge
K The Recollets Convent
L The Market Place
M The Church
N The place where the English Troops encamped
O The Governour sent a Drum to the English Admiral
P The Officers Lodgings and Common Lodgings
Q The Recollets Convent

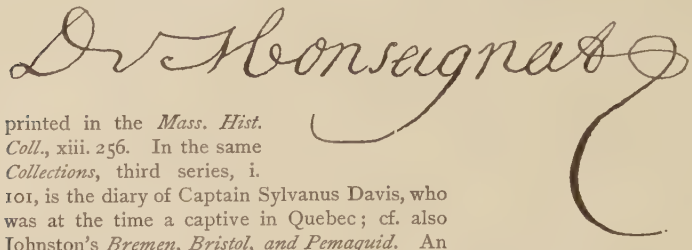
ATTACK ON QUEBEC, 1690.[1]

[1] Fac-simile of the engraving in La Hontan's *Mémoires*, La Haye, 1709, vol. ii. p. 14. It was re-engraved for the 1715 edition.

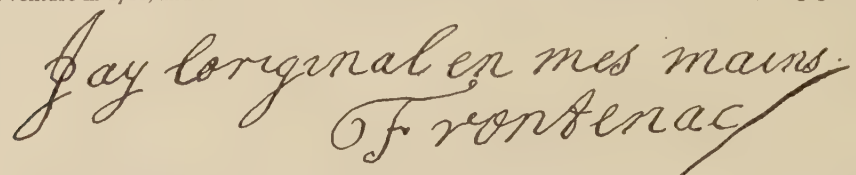
and another brief *Relation de la levée du siége de Québec* (Harrisse, no. 167) was printed at Tours. La Hontan, Le Clercq, La Potherie, and Juchereau (*L'Hôtel Dieu*), give other accounts contemporary, or nearly so, and their testimony has been availed of by Charlevoix (cf. Shea's ed., iv. 169) and the later writers, like Garneau.

On the English side, besides a contemporary bulletin issued in the *Publick Occurrences*, Boston, Sept. 25, 1690 (given in *Hist. Mag.*, August, 1857), two participators in the expedition left narratives, — one of which by John Walley is printed in Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, i. app. no. xxi., which concerns chiefly the land forces; and the other was by the officer second in command of the militia, and is entitled, *An account of the late action of the New Englanders, under the command of Sir William Phips, against the French at Canada, sent in a letter from Maj. Thomas Savage, of Boston, in New England* (*who*

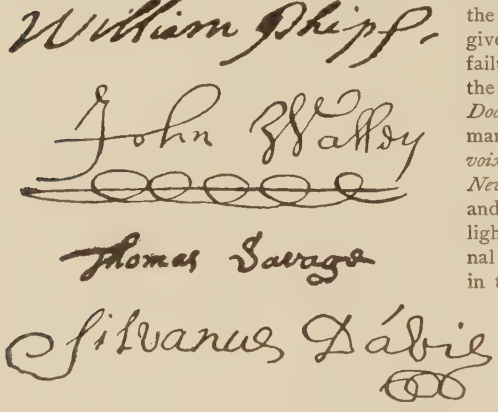
was present at the action), *to his brother, Mr. Perez Savage, in London.* London, 1691. This quarto tract is in Harvard College Library; it was re-



printed in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xiii. 256. In the same *Collections*, third series, i. 101, is the diary of Captain Sylvanus Davis, who was at the time a captive in Quebec; cf. also Johnston's *Bremen, Bristol, and Pemaquid.* An original journal of the expedition is said to have been intrusted to Admiral Walker at the time of his venture in 1711, and to have been lost in one



of his ships (Walker's *Journal*, p. 87). Phips's side of the story is doubtless told amid the high laudation of Cotton Mather's *Life of Phips;* some



light is thrown upon the times in Dummer's *Defence of the Colonies;* and various tokens of the preparations for the expedition are preserved in

the *Hinckley Papers*, vol. iii., in the Prince Library. Somewhat later we have the story in some of its aspects in Colden's *Five Nations;* later still, in Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay*, vol. i.; again, in part, in Belknap's *New Hampshire;* while the chief modern writers who have preceded Parkman, on the English side, have been Palfrey's *New England*, iv. 51; Barry's *Massachusetts*, ii. 79; Bowen's "Life of Phips," in Sparks' *American Biography;* and Warburton, in his *Conquest of Canada*, chap. 14.

Of the supporting Winthrop expedition from Albany, we have the French accounts in La Potherie (iii. 126), and in the *New York Colonial Documents*, ix. 513. The

recently published *Winthrop Papers* (iv. 303–324) throw considerable light through the letters of Fitz-John Winthrop on the preparations which were made; and they give also his reasons for the expedition's failure, and through his Journal, with which the one printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*, iv. 193, may be compared. Parkman's *Frontenac* (p. 257) and Shea's *Charlevoix* (iv. 145) note the authorities; and the *New York Colonial Documents* (iii. 727, 752) and *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* (ii. 266, 288) yield other light than that already mentioned. The Journal of Schuyler's raid to La Prairie is given in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, ii. 285, and in the publications of the New Jersey Historical Society, vol. i.

Concerning the minor episodes of this second term of Frontenac's government, both Parkman and Shea indicate the essential authorities. On the destruction of Schenectady, the letter of Monseignat and other papers in the *Doc. Hist. of New York*, vol. i. 297, etc.

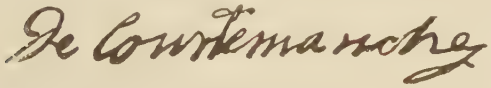
(where authorities are cited), and a letter of Schuyler and his associates in the Massachusetts Archives, printed in the *Andros Tracts*, are of

the first importance. Cf. also M. Van Rennsselaer's paper in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1846, p. 101, and the same Society's *Fund Publications*, ii. 165;

a letter from Governor Bradstreet, in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ii. 150; and the contributions in Munsell's *Albany*. French accounts are in *Le Clercq* (Shea's edition, ii. 292); *Potherie*, ii. 68; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 466; and English accounts in Smith's *New York*, p. 66; Colden's *Five Nations* (1727), p. 114.

On Schuyler's raid by way of Lake Champlain in 1691, the French side is still to be gathered from La Potherie, with help from Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*, and from the *Relation of* 1682–1712, and from the despatches of Frontenac and Champigny. Schuyler's own Journal and other documents, French and English, are in the *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, vol. iii.; Parkman (p. 294) examines the question of the number of the forces engaged, and Shea, *Charlevoix*, iv. 202, gives references.

On the expedition against the Mohawks, led by Mantet, Courtemanche, and La Noue, we



have more various accounts. Parkman gives a graphic recital, and his notes show he has used all the sources. The French authorities, besides the letter of Callières to the home government, are the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable en Canada*, 1692–93; the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la Guerre*, 1682–1712; while citations of original journals, etc., are in Faillon's *Vie de Mdle. Le Ber*, and of course we have La Potherie (iii. 169) and Belmont. The *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. ix., contain important material, including a "Narrative of Military Operations in Canada;" and Major Peter Schuyler's report is in vol. iv. of the same collection. Colden, in his *Five Nations*, p. 142, wrote while the actors were still living. There was a tract on the expedition issued in London the same year, which is of such rarity that the copy in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, vol. ii. no. 1,446, with fac-simile of title; also Harrisse, no. 171) is the only one known to me, and from it Sabin, in 1868, reprinted it. It is entitled, *A Journal of the late actions of the French in Canada, with the manner of their being repulsed, by his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York*, etc. *By Coll. Nicholas Reyard* [should be Beyard] *and Lieutenant-Coll. Charles Lodowick.*

The reader must turn to the chapter on Acadia for the authorities for such other expeditions as come within the alleged limits of that province and the neighboring English settlements.

On Frontenac's last raid, — the attack upon the Onondagas, in 1696, — we must naturally find our chief information from the French, for the English at Albany were not ready to advance till the French had done their work and had gone. Frontenac and Callières each despatched accounts to Paris; and besides the *Relation*, 1682–1712, already referred to, we have the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada*, — a manuscript preserved in the library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec (see *Parliamentary Library Catalogue*, 1858, p. 1613); the *Relation*, 1696, which Shea has printed, and of course the accounts in La Potherie, iii. 270, and Charlevoix (Shea adds references in his edition, vol. v.), and the papers in the *Doc Hist. of N. Y.*, i. 323, and the *N. Y. Col. Docs.* iv. 342. Parkman's narrative (*Frontenac*, chap xix.) is clearly put and exemplified.

A CANADIAN SOLDIER.[1]

[1] This sketch of the costume of a grenadier de St. Louis, Compagnie canadienne, is taken from the *Mass Archives; Documents Collected in France*, iii. 3.

B. General Documentary Sources of Canadian History. — Harrisse prefaces his *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle France et des pays adjacents*, 1545–1700, Paris, 1872, with an account of the sources of early Canadian history, and of the repositories of documentary material in Paris, etc. He states that the French Government refused access to their archives to an agent of the Historical Society of Quebec in 1835, and that a similar refusal was made in 1838; but that in 1842 General Cass, then United States Minister, succeeded, in behalf of the State of Michigan, in securing about forty *cartons* for publication; and ten years later the Parliament at Quebec obtained copies of documents, which now (1872) form a series of thirty-six folios, — not embracing, however, the papers of the early discovery, which were withheld.

Louis P. Turcotte, in his address on *Les Archives du Canada* (Quebec, 1877), says that the first inventory of the public archives of Canada was published in 1791; that it shows the subsequent loss of important documents; that the first steps were taken to procure copies from the European archives in 1835, which were not successful at the time; and that the better results made by the State of New York (1841–1844) were accordingly availed of. In 1845 the Canadian agent, M. Papineau, secured other copies in France; and in 1851–1852 M. Faribault added twenty-four volumes of transcripts to the collection, now in the library at Ottawa; and sixteen volumes have been added since. M. Turcotte pays a tribute, for his zeal and industry in preserving early Canadian records, to M. Jacques Viger, whose efforts have been since supplemented by the labors of l'Abbé Verreau, who has formed a large library of copies of manuscripts and printed books. M. Verreau was in 1873 sent by the Canadian Government to Europe to make additional collections.

The *Catalogue* of the Library of the Canadian Parliament, made by Gérin-Lajoie, and published in 1858, gives (p. 1448) an account of the manuscript collections at that time in the possession of the Canadian Government at Toronto, and now transferred to Ottawa, and divides them thus: —

First series. — Copies of copies made by Brodhead for the State of New York, from the archives at Paris, seventeen volumes, with six additional volumes, drawn at second hand in the same way from the Colonial Office in London. These copies were made before the Brodhead collection was printed. Kirke, in his *First English Conquest of Canada*, London, 1871, says: "The papers in the Record Office [London] relating to Canada, Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland are numerous and continuous from 1621 to 1660, with the exception of the period from 1640 to 1649, during which years we find no papers."

Second series. — Copies obtained in Paris by Faribault, and made under Margry's direction; twelve volumes, giving the official correspondence of the governors, 1637–1727. These are enumerated in the *Catalogue*.

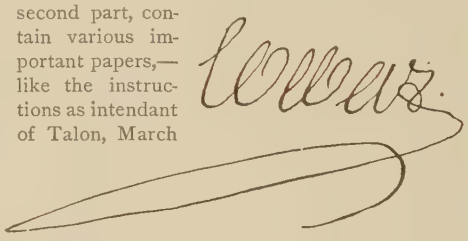
Third series. — Copies of official correspondence relative to Canada, 1654–1731; twelve volumes, likewise arranged by Margry, and also enumerated in the *Catalogue*.

Fourth series. — A transcript of Franquet's "Voyages et mémoires sur le Canada, 1752–53," and other documents mentioned in the *Catalogue*.

Fifth series. — Maps, copied by Morin, and enumerated on pp. 1614–21 of the *Catalogue*.

Cf. *Collection de Mémoires et de Relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada, d'après des manuscrits récemment obtenus des archives et bureaux publics en France*, Quebec, 1840; and the *Transactions* of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1870–71, and 1871–72. The *Collection* contains Belmont and the Report attributed to Talon. Cf. *Magazine of American History*, iii. 458, in the Quebec Society.

The *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert, publiés par Clément*, Paris, 1865, vol. iii., second part, contain various important papers,— like the instructions as intendant of Talon, March



27, 1665; of De Bouteroue, April 5, 1668; Duchesneau, May 30, 1675; those to Gaudais in 1663, and to Courcelles in 1669: besides letters to Frontenac, April 7, 1672; June 13, 1673; May 17, 1674; April 22, 1675; May 10, 1677; March 21, 1678; Dec. 4, 1679; April 30, 1681 (pp. 533, 557, 574, 585, 594, 622, 631, 641, 644): others to Talon, Feb. 11, 1671; June 4, 1672 (pp. 511, 539); to Duchesneau, April 15, 1676; April 28, 1677; May 1, 1677; May 15 and 24, 1678; April 30, 1679 (pp. 605, 614, 619, 632, 635, 638); with one to l'Évêque de Petrée, May 15, 1669 (p. 451). Margry (i. 247) gives some of the correspondence of Frontenac and Colbert, 1672–1674, relative to the pushing of Recollect missionaries farther west; and in Clément's *Histoire de Colbert*, Paris, 1874, vol. i. last chapter, there is an exposition of Colbert's colonial policy.

Mr. Ben: Perley Poore was appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts, in May, 1845, to select and transcribe such documents in the French archives as he might find to bear upon the early history of Massachusetts and the relations of New England with New France. His

report to the Governor, Dec. 28, 1847, accompanied by letters from John G. Palfrey and Jared Sparks, telling the story of his work, constitutes *Senate Doc., no.* 9 (1848), *Mass. Documents.* His transcripts, covering papers from the discovery to 1780, fill ten volumes in the Archives of the State, and are accompanied by two volumes of engraved maps. Mr. Poore, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and with the pledge of Colonel William P. Winchester to assume the expense if necessary, had already a year earlier begun his work. M. Davezac was at that time *chef des archives* of the Marine, and the confusion which Brodhead, the agent of New York, had earlier found among the papers had disappeared under the care of the new custodian. From other departments as well as from other public and from private sources, Mr. Poore increased his collection, and added to it water-color drawings and engraved prints of an illustrative nature; but unfortunately many of the documents cited are given by title only, and the blank pages left to be filled are still empty. It is these papers which have been copied within a year or two for the Government of the Province of Quebec.

The manuscript collections of Mr. Parkman are very extensive, and are still in his house; the more important of his maps, however, have been transferred to the College Library at Cambridge, and these have been sketched elsewhere in the present volume. The Editor is under great obligations to Mr. Parkman for unrestricted access to his manuscripts. They consist of large masses of miscellaneous transcripts, with a few original papers, and so far as they come within the period of the present volume, of the following bound series: —

I. *Acadia*, in three volumes. These are transcripts made by, or under the direction of, Mr. Ben: Perley Poore, and in considerable part supplement the collection made by Mr. Poore for the State of Massachusetts.

II. *Correspondance officielle*, in five volumes, coming down to 1670, being transcripts from the French archives.

III. *Canada*, in eight volumes, covering 1670–1700, being transcripts from the French archives, and supplementing Brodhead's *Colonial Documents of New York*, vol. ix.

C. Bibliography. — Harrisse's *Notes*, etc., is the latest of the general bibliographies of the history and cartography of New France; and this with his *Cabot* constitutes a complete, or nearly so, indication of the sources of Canadian history previous to 1700. Charlevoix in 1743 prefixed to his *Nouvelle France* a list of authorities as known to him, and characterized them; and this is included in Shea's translation. Of the modern writers, Ferland and Faillon in their introduction each make note of their predecessors. The work of G. B. Faribault, *Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amérique, et en particulier sur celle du Canada, avec des notes*, Quebec, 1837, containing nine hundred and ninety-six titles, besides maps, etc., has lost whatever importance its abounding errors left for it formerly. There is a biographical sketch (1867) of Faribault in the Abbé Casgrain's *Œuvres*, vol. ii. Cf. Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, p. 118. H. J. Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, Ottawa, 1867, includes the writers on Canadian history who have published since the conquest of 1759.

From this book and other sources the following enumeration of the various general histories of Canada, compendious as well as elaborate, and including such as cover a long interval in a general way, is taken: —

Excepting one volume of a projected *History of Canada*, by George Heriot, published in London in 1804, and which was an abridgment of Charlevoix, the earliest of modern works is *The History of Canada from its first Discovery to* 1796, by William Smith, published in Quebec in 1815. The author was a son of the historian of New York.

There was published in Paris in 1821, in a duodecimo of 512 pages, a sketchy compendium by D. Dainville, — *Beautés de l'histoire du Canada, ou époques remarquables, traits intéressans, mœurs, usages, coutumes des habitants du Canada, tant indigènes que colons, depuis sa découverte jusqu'à ce jour.*

In 1837 Michael Bibaud published at Montreal a *Histoire du Canada sous la domination Française.* A second edition was published in 1845. In 1844 appeared his *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la domination Anglaise.* This author also published a *Bibliothèque Canadienne*, a monthly magazine, which for several years gathered and preserved considerable documentary material.

Between 1845 and 1848 the work of Garneau, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was printed, which became the basis of Bell's adaptation in 1866.

In 1851 a comprehensive compendium by W. H. Smith, — *Canada* [West]: *Past, Present, and Future*, — in two volumes, was published at Toronto.

Brasseur de Bourbourg's *Histoire du Canada; de son Église et de ses missions*, published in Paris in 1852, is characterized in the Note on the *Jesuit Relations*, following chap. vi.

A popular *History of Canada from its first Discovery to the Preseut Time*, by John Mac Mullen, was published at Brockville in 1855 and 1868.

L. Dussieux's *Le Canada sous la domination Française* was published at Paris in 1855, and a new edition in 1862.

F. M. N. M. Bibaud's *Les Institutions de l'histoire du Canada* (to 1818), Montreal, 1855, is a concise narrative.

Between 1861 and 1865, and in 1865–1866, were published the works of Ferland and Faillon, of which note is made in the preceding chapter.

John Boyd's *Summary of Canadian History* was issued at Toronto in 1860, and many editions since.

In 1863 Boucher de la Bruère, fils, published a brief survey, — *Le Canada sous la domination Anglaise.*

Alexander Monro's *History, Geography, and Statistics of British North America* was published at Montreal in 1864.

William Canniff's *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada, with special reference to the Bay Quinté*, appeared at Toronto in 1869. This book was undertaken under the auspices of the Historical Society of Upper Canada, which was established at St. Catharines in 1861.

At Montreal, in 1872, appeared Henry H. Miles's *History of Canada under the French régime* (1535–1763), *with Maps, Plans, and Illustrative Notes.*

Andrew Archer's *History of Canada* was published in 1875 at London.

John Harper's *History of the Maritime Provinces* was issued at St. John, N.B., in 1876.

Charles R. Tuttle's *Short History of Canada*, 1500–1878, appeared in Boston in 1878.

F. Teissier's compendious historical sketch of Canada under the French, 1562–1763, appeared at Limoges, — *Les Français au Canada.* It is not dated, but is recent.

The series of monographs by Mr. Parkman is spoken of elsewhere.

An important work is now publishing: *Histoire des Canadiens-Français.* 1608–1880. *Origine, Histoire, Réligion, Guerres, Découvertes, Colonization, Coutumes, Vie Domestique, Sociale et Politique, Développement, Avenir.* Par Benjamin Sulte. Ouvrage orné de portraits et de plans. Montreal. 1882–1883.

THE GENERAL ATLASES AND CHARTS

OF THE

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE general atlases at this time becoming familiar to Europe were unfortunately made up on a thrifty principle, little conducive to keeping the public mind abreast of current discovery, — so far as America, at least, was concerned, — and very perplexing now to any one studying the course of the cartographical development of American geography. Dates were sedulously erased with a deceitful purpose (which is not yet gone into disuse) from plates thus made to do service for many years, and united with other dated maps, to convey an impression of a like period of production.

Bestelli e Forlani's *Tavole moderne di Geografia de la maggior parte del mondo*, Roma, 1558–80, with seventy-one large maps, including three maps of the world, and three of America, is reputed the best atlas which had been constructed up to that date. Sets vary much in their make-up.[1]

Perhaps the prototype of the modern atlas can be best found in the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of Ortelius, issued in the first edition at Antwerp in 1570, of which an account has been given elsewhere.[2] His portrait is on a later page.

In 1597 appeared the earliest special atlas of America in the *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum* of Cornelius Wytfliet, which was reissued the same year with its errata corrected.[3] It had nineteen maps, which were also used in the second edition, issued in 1598. A fac-simile of the title of 1597 is given on the next page.[4]

Reference has been made elsewhere to the conspicuous work of Gerard Mercator, which was a sort of culmination of his geographical views, in his great mappemonde of 1569.[5] Then

[1] Sabin, vol. ii. no. 5,000. [2] See Vol. III. p. 34. [3] *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 516, 517.

[4] There are copies of the 1597 edition in the Carter-Brown and Harvard College libraries. They are worth from £3 to £4. Copies of the 1598 edition are in the Library of Congress, and in the Murphy, Barlow, and Carter-Brown Collections. It is usually priced at $8 or $10. This edition was reissued in 1603 with a new title, and the omissions of the leaf of "epigramma;" and copies of this date are in the Library of Congress, the Philadelphia Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. A French edition, including the same maps, appeared at Douay in 1607, with the text abridged in parts and added to in others. There is a copy in the Carter-Brown (*Catalogue*, ii. 59) Collection. The maps were also reproduced, with four others not American, in the 1611 edition of Douay, of which the Library of Congress, Harvard College, and the Carter-Brown Collections have copies. The *America, sive novus orbis* of Metellus, published at Cologne in 1600, has twenty maps, which are reduced copies with little change from Wytfliet. (Rich, 1832, no. 90; Sabin, *Dictionary*, xii. 48,170). Harvard College Library has a copy of Metellus.

[5] Part of this famous map is given on p. 373. See Raemdonck's *Mercator*, pp. 114–138, 249. The same map was reproduced on a different projection by Rumold Mercator in 1587, and by Corneille de Jode in 1589; and Guillaume Jannsonius imitated it in 1606, and this in turn was imitated by Kaerius. Girolamo Poro reproduced it at Venice on a reduced scale in 1596.

German and English writers have disputed over the claim for the invention of what is known as Mercator's projection. The facts seem to be that Mercator conceived the principle, but did not accurately work out the formula for parallelizing the meridians and for spreading the parallels of latitude. Mead, on *The Construction of Maps* (1717), charged Mercator with having stolen the idea from Edward Wright, who was the first to publish an engraved map on this system in his *Certaine Errors of Navigation*, London, 1599. It seems, however, clear that Wright perfected the formula, and only claimed to have improved, not to have invented, the projection. Raemdonck (p. 120) gives full references.

DESCRIPTIONIS
PTOLEMAICÆ
AVGMENTVM,
siue
OCCIDENTIS Notitia
Breui commentario
illustrata
STudio et opera
CORNELY WYTFLIET
Louaniensis.
LOVANII
Typis Iohannis Bogardi
Anno Domini M.D XCVII

after giving his attention to a closer study of Ptolemy and to the publication of an edition of the great Alexandrian geography, with a revision of Agathodæmon's charts, but without any attempt to make them conform to the newer knowledge, he set about the compilation of a modern geographical *atlas* (applying this word for the first time to such a collection, though modern usage has somewhat narrowed the meaning as he applied it); and he had published two parts of it, when he died, in December, 1594, — the second part having appeared at Duisburg in 1585, and the third in 1590. Shortly after his death, a son, Rumold Mercator, published in 1595, at Dusseldorf, part i., and prefixed to it a Latin biography of his father, by Walter Ghymm, which is the principal source of our knowledge of his career.[1] The son Rumold died in 1600, and in 1602, at the expense of the estate, the three parts of the *Atlas* were united and published together, making what is properly the earliest edition of the so-called *Mercator Atlas*. It had one hundred and eleven maps and a Latin text. It is very rare, for Raemdonck says he has met with but two copies of it. Up to this time it had contained no American maps. A map of America, as one of the four quarters of the globe, was called for in part iii.; but Raemdonck (p. 257) says he has never seen a copy of that part which has it.

Gaarduß Mercator.[2]

[1] Dr. J. van Raemdonck published *Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, in 1869; a paper in the nature of a supplement by him, "Relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et Christophe Plantin à Anvers," was published in the *Bull. de la Soc. géog. d'Anvers*, iv. 327. There is a succinct account of Mercator by Eliab F. Hall published in the *Bulletin* (1878, no. 4) of the American Geographical Society. Raemdonck (p. 312) has shown that the old belief in the Latinization of Koopman, or Kaufmann, as the original name of Mercator, is an error, — his family name having been Cremer, which in Flemish signified the German Kaufmann and the Latin Mercator. Raemdonck also shows that Mercator was born in the Pays de Waas, March 5, 1512.

[2] This is a fac-simile of a cut in Lorenzo Crasso's *Elogii d' Huomini letterati*, Venice, 1666. There's a portrait of him at sixty-two in the 1584 edition of Ptolemy, the second of Mercator's own editing. It is engraved by Francis Hoggenberg. The engraving in the 1613 edition of Mercator's *Atlas* represents Mercator and Hondius seated at a table, and is colored. There is said to be an engraving in the 1618 edition of Ptolemy, but it is wanting in the Harvard College copy. Cf. fac-similes of old prints in Raemdonck's *Mercator*, in C. P. Daly's address on *The Early History of Cartography*, and in *Scribner's Monthly*, ii. 464. There is another portrait of Mercator in J. F. Foppens' *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Bruxelles, 1739.

Mercator's maps were followed, however, pretty closely in Mathias Quad's or Quadus's *Geographisch Handtbuch*,[1] Cologne, 1600, which contained a map of the world and another of North America, with some other special American maps; and such were also contained in the Latin version called *Fasciculus geographicus*, Cologne, 1608, etc.

In 1604 Mercator's plates fell by purchase into the possession of Jodocus Hondius,[2] of Amster-

Abrah. Ortelius.[3]

[1] Leclerc, *Bibl. Amer.*, no. 2,911 (45 francs).

[2] Cf. I. C. Iselin, in *Historisch-Geographisches Lexicon*, Basel, 1726, 2d part.

[3] This is a fac-simile of an engraving in J. F. Foppens's *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1739, vol. i. p. 3. There is another engraving in Lorenzo Crasso's *Elogii d'huomini letterati*, Venice, 1666.

Anno Domini 1500 Gaspar Corterealis Portogalensis nauigauit ad has terras septentrionali parte septentrionali inuenitur transitum ad insulas Molucas, perueniens autem ad fluuium quem a deuectis ibidem vocant Rio nouado, propter ingens frigus abstitit ulterius in septentrionem pergere destitit, perlustrauit autem littora in meridiem vsq; ad C. Raso.
Anno 1504 Britones primi inuenerunt littora noue Francie circa ostia sinus S. Laurentij.
Anno 1524 Joannes Verrazzanus Florentinus nomine regis Gall: Francisci primi ex porta Diepa profectus 17. Martij ad litus meridionale noue Francie peruenit circa 34 gradum latitudinis, atq; inde versus orientem omne litus perlustrauit vsq; ad Britonum promontorium.
Anno 1534 duce classis Jacobo Cartier lustrata fuit noua Francia & proximo anno regi Gallie conquiri coepit.
Circulus arcticus
Saguenai
Noua Fran
Canada
Sinus S. Laurentij
Terra Corterealis
Golfam de Merosro
Ffrotelant
Dragreo. Rus Cruzo Galbi
Ile aux demonios
Ile de sable
Arrecenda
Apalchen
La. Flo rida.
La Bermuda
La emperadada
Guanahani insula, alias de Lucaia
Tortugas
Samana
Juan de samp.
OCEANVS ATLA
Anno D. 1492, 11 Octobris Christophorus Columbus nauem Indiam nomine regis Castelle detexit, prima terra quam compulsus fuit Insula.

MAPPEMONDE DE GERARD MERCATOR Duisbourg. 1569.

dam, who got out a new edition in 1606,[1] to which he added fifty maps, including a few American ones; and thus began what is known as the *Hondius-Mercator Atlas*. The text was furnished by Montanus,[2] and the new maps were engraved by Petrus Kærius, who also prepared for Hondius the *Atlas minor Gerardi Mercatoris* in 1607.[3]

After the death of Jodocus Hondius, Feb. 16, 1611, Heinrich Hondius (b. 1580; d. 1644) and Johannes Jannsonius (d. 1666) completed the *Atlas;* and what is known as the fourth edition (1613) contains portraits of Mercator and the elder Hondius. In this there were ten American maps, and for several editions subsequently there were 105 of Mercator's maps and 51 of Hondius'. Such seemingly was the make-up of the seventh edition in 1619 (though called fourth on the title); but there is much arbitrary mingling of the maps observable in many copies of these early editions.

The same Latin text and its translations appeared in the several editions down to 1630, when what is called sometimes the eleventh edition appeared with 163 maps (105 by Mercator, 58 by Hondius); but I have noted copies with 184 maps, of which ten are American, and a copy dated 1632, with 178 maps. Raemdonck does not venture to enumerate all the Latin editions of Hondius and Jannsonius; but he mentions those of 1612, 1613, 1616, 1623, 1627, 1628, 1630, 1631.

In 1633 a marked change was made in the *Mercator-Hondius Atlas*. There was a new Latin text, and it was now called the *Atlas novus*, and made two volumes, containing 238 newly engraved maps (only 87 of Mercator's remaining, while Hondius added 151, including 10 new maps of America). The French text was issued the same year, but it added details not in the Latin, and in the general description of America is quite different.[4] The German text also appeared in 1633; but it had — at least in the copy we have noted — only 160 maps, and of these 6 were American. The Dutch text is dated usually in 1634.

In 1635 the English text appeared with the following title: *Historia Mundi; or, Mercator's Atlas. . . . Lately rectified in divers places, and also beautified and enlarged with new mappes ana tables by the studious industry of Iudocus Hondy. Englished by W. S.*, London;[5] and of this there was a second edition in 1637. The only map showing New France is a general one of America, which is no improvement upon that of the 1613 edition.

The English market was also supplied with another English version, published much more sumptuously, in two large folios, at Amsterdam in 1636, with the title, *Atlas; or, a Geographical Description of the Regions . . . of the World, represented by New and Exact Maps: Translated by Henry Hexham. Printed at Amsterdam by Henry Hondius and John Johnson.*[6] The American maps are in the second volume, where the map of the two Americas is much like the world-map in vol. i. There is no part of New France shown in the special maps, except in that of "Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium, et Virginia," where lying west of the Lac des Iroquois (Ontario) is a single and larger "Grand lac."

A still further enlargement of the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas novus* took place in 1638, when it appeared in three imperial folio volumes, with 318 maps, 17 of which are special maps of America.[7] It was now more commonly known as Jannson's *Atlas*, — this publisher being a son-in-law of Jodocus Hondius, — and it went on increasing till it grew to eight volumes, to which were added a volume "Orbis Maritimus" (1657), a second on the ancient world, a celestial atlas

[1] Sabin, vol. xii. no. 47,882. Lelewel, *Géog. du Moyen Age*, despaired of setting right the order of the various editions of *Hondius-Mercator;* but Raemdonck, *Mercator*, p. 260, thinks he has determined their sequence; and upon Raemdonck we have in part depended in this account. Raemdonck mentions the copies in European libraries. The 1607 edition was translated into French by Popellinière, the author of *Les trois Mondes;* and other French editions were issued in 1613, 1619, 1628, 1630, 1633, 1635. Cf. Quetelet, *Histoire des Sciences, mathématique et physique chez les Belges*, p. 116.

[2] Known in his vernacular as Pierre van den Bergh. He had married the sister of Jodocus Hondius.

[3] This had 153 plates, but none touching New France, except the map of the world. The same, with German text, appeared in 1609. About twenty editions appeared in various languages; but that of 1627–1628 showed 140 newly engraved maps, of which there were later Dutch (1630) and Latin (1634) editions. In 1651, this *Atlas minor* was increased to two volumes, with 211 maps, having 71 (including five new maps of South American regions) additional maps to the 140 of the 1627–1628 edition. Cf. Raemdonck, *Mercator;* Carter-Brown *Catalogue*, vol. ii. no. 1,634; and Sabin, vol. xii. nos. 47,887 and 47,888.

[4] In 1633–39 it had the title, *Atlas; ou, Représentation du Monde*, in three volumes; Sabin, vol. xii. no. 47,884.

[5] The English editor was Wye Saltonstall. There are copies in Harvard College Library and in Mr. Deane's, and the Carter-Brown Collection (*Catalogue*, ii. 430; cf. Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. xii. no. 47,885. The second edition in some copies has Ralph Hall's very rare map of Virginia.

[6] There is a fine copy in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; cf. Sabin, vol. xii. no. 47,886.

[7] It is usually priced at from £7 to £10; cf. Sabin, vol. xii. no. 47,883. Raemdonck, *Mercator*, p. 268, says 313 maps, of which twenty are Mercator's, and these last were latest used in the editions of 1640 (?) and 1664.

for a third, and an "Atlas Contractus," or *résumé*, for the fourth; making twelve in all.[1]

At this time there was a rival in the *Atlas* of Blaeu, of which the reader will find an account in chapter ix. of the present volume, to be supplemented by the present brief statement.

Willem Jannson Blaeu was born in 1571, and died in 1638, and, with his sons Jean and Cornelis, devoted himself with untiring assiduity to his art. In 1647 the number of their maps reached one hundred. In 1655 their *Atlas* had reached six volumes, and contained 372 maps. In this year (1655) the Blaeu establishment issued separately the American map, *Americæ nova Tabula*, with nine views of towns and representations of native costumes, accompanied by four pages of text. The Latin edition of 1662-63, *Atlas major, sive cosmographia Blaviana*, had 586 maps, of which the collection in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (ii. 900) shows 23 in vol. xi. to belong to America.[2]

The Blaeu establishment was burned in 1672, and most of the plates were lost. Those which were saved passed into the hands of Frederic de Witt, who put his name on them, and they continued to be issued thus inscribed in the *Blaeu Atlas* of 1685, etc.; and when De Witt's business fell to Covens and Mortier, the inscriptions were again altered.[3]

A French atlas began a little later to attract attention, and ultimately made the name of its maker famous in cartographic annals. It was begun in 1646 by Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, who in 1647 was appointed Royal Geographer of France, and held that office till his death.[4] The volume of his *Atlas*, containing fifteen American maps, and entitled *L'Amérique, en plusieurs Cartes nouvelles et exactes*, was published by the author in Paris without date, but probably in 1656, though some copies are dated in 1657, 1658, and 1662.[5]

The elder Sanson, having been born in 1600, died in 1667, leaving about four hundred plates to his sons, who kept up the name,[6] and their stock subsequently fell to Robert Vaugondy, who has given a notice of the Sansons in his *Essai sur l'Hist. de la Géog.*, as has Lenglet Dufresnoy in his *Méthode pour étudier la Géographie*.[7]

A new Dutch atlas, that of N. Visscher, called *Atlas minor, sive Geographia compendiosa*, appeared at Amsterdam about 1670. It contained twenty-six maps, and had three American maps; but the number was increased in later editions.[8] In 1680 it appeared in two volumes with 195 maps,

[1] Lelewel, *Epilogue*, p. 222. Lelewel, a Pole, passed a long exile at Brussels, where he published, in 1852, his *Géog. du Moyen Age*. He died in Paris in 1862; and the people of Brussels commemorated him by an inscription on the house in which he lived.

[2] There is also a copy in Harvard College Library.

[3] Cf. Lelewel, *Epilogue*, p. 222. Covens and Mortier were the publishers of what is known as the Allard Atlases, published about the close of the century.

[4] A list of the royal geographers of France will often serve in fixing the dates of the many undated maps of this period. Such a list is given from 1560 in the *Bulletin de la Soc. géog. d'Anvers*, i. 477, and includes —

Nicolas Sanson, in office, 1647–1667.
P. Duval, 1664–1667.
Adrien Sanson, first son of Nicolas, 1667.
Guillaume Sanson, second son, 1667.
Jean B. d'Anville (b. 1697; d. 1782), 1718.
Guillaume Delisle (b. 1675; d. 1726), 1718.
Jean de Beaurain (b. 1696; d. 1771; publications, 1741–1756), 1721.
Le Rouge, 1722.
Philip Buache (publications, 1729–1760), d. 1773.
Roussel, 1730.
Hubert Jaillot, 1736.
Bernard Jaillot, 1736.
Robert de Vaugondy (b. 1688; d. 1766), 1760.

A *Géographie universelle, avec Cartes*, was published under Du Val's name in Paris in 1682. Another French atlas, A. M. Mallet's *Description de l'Univers*, Paris, 1683, in five volumes, contained 683 maps, of which 55 were American; and the century closed with what was still called Sanson's *Description de tout l'Univers en plusieurs Cartes*, 1700, which had six maps on America.

[5] Copy in Boston Public Library (no. 2,311.68), 112 pp., quarto, without date. Cf. Uricoechea, *Mapoteca Colombiana*, no. 38; one of the Carter-Brown copies (*Catalogue*, ii. 828) is dated 1657 (as is the Harvard College copy), and the other, with twelve maps is dated 1662 (*Catalogue*, ii. no. 909). The entire atlas was called *Cartes générales de toutes Parties du Monde*, Paris, 1658 (Sunderland, vol. v. no. 11,069).

[6] Some copies are made up as covering the dates 1654 to 1669.

[7] Cf. Lelewel, *Epilogue*, p. 229. "The progress of geographical science long continued to be slow," says Hallam in his *Literature of Europe*. "If we compare the map of the world in 1651, by Nicolas Sanson, esteemed on all sides the best geographer of his age, with one by his son in 1692, the variances will not appear perhaps so considerable as one might have expected. . . . The Sanson family did not take pains enough to improve what their father had executed, though they might have had material help from the astronomical observations which were now continually made in different parts of the world." The Sanson plates continued to be used in Johannes Luyt's *Introductio ad Geographiam*, 1692, and in the *Atlas nouveau par le Sr. Sanson et H. Jaillot*, published in Paris about the same year.

[8] A list of the American maps published in Holland is given on pp. 113–118 of Paullus' *Orbis terraqueus in Tabulis descriptus*, published at Strasburg in 1673.

10 of which were American, and plates by Jannson, De Witt, and others, were included. It is not easy to discriminate among various composite atlases of this period, the chief cartographers being made to contribute to various imprints. Another *Atlas minor, novissimas Orbis Terrarum Tabulas complectens*, is likewise of this date (1680), and passes under the name of S. Wolfgang, with maps by Blaeu, Visscher, De Witt, and others. This usually contains nineteen American maps. Other atlases have the name of Frederic de Witt, who, as we have seen, got possession of some of Blaeu's plates. The first example of his imprint appeared about 1675, at Amsterdam, with a printed index calling for 102 maps. Another edition (? 1680) is indexed for 160 plates, contained in two volumes of maps, and a third of charts.[1] Another small German atlas, the *Vorstellung der gantzen Welt*, of J. U. Muller, was published at Ulm in 1692, which had eighteen small American maps; and towards the close of the century the *Atlas minor* of Allard obtained a good popularity. The pre-eminent name of Delisle, just becoming known, marked the opening of a new era in cartography, which is beyond the limits of the present volume.

Some notice should be given of another class of atlases, the successors of the portolanos of the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the later science of hydrography. In these the Dutch were conspicuous; and many of their subsequent charts trace back to the larger *pascaart* of the North Atlantic which Jacob Aertz Colom published at Amsterdam about 1630.[2] Among the earliest of the regular *Zee-Atlases* was that of Theunis Jacobsz, published in Amsterdam about 1635, which has a chart showing the American coast-line from Nova Francia to Virginia. Of large importance in this direction was the *Arcano del Mare* of Robert Dudley, issued at Florence in 1646–1647, of which mention has been made in other chapters in this and in the preceding volume. Another of the Amsterdam Coloms — Arnold Colom — published his *Zee-Atlas* about 1650, which contains six American coast-charts, and sometimes appears with a Latin title, *Ora maritima Orbis universi*, and is of interest in the historical study of our American coast-lines, improving as he does the preceding work of Jacobsz. Later editions of Colom, dating the charts, appeared in 1656 and 1663.[3] Of about this same date (1654) is a *pascaart*, published at Amsterdam, which seems to have been the joint business project of Frederic de Witt, Anthony and Theunis Jacobsz, and Gulielmus Blaeu. The world-map in it is dated 1652, and is doubly marked "C. J. Visscher" (Claes Jannson Visscher) and "Autore N. J. Piscator" (Nicolas Joanides), as the Latin equivalent of the same person. It shows the Atlantic coast from Labrador to Brazil. The first edition of Hendrick Doncker's *Zee-Atlas ofte Water-Waereld* appeared at Amsterdam in 1659, and is particularly useful for the American coasts. New maps were added to it in the edition of 1666; but the *Nieuwe Groote vermeerderde Zee-Atlas* of 1676, though still called Doncker's, is based on Colom, and has Colom's six American charts. Additional American and other charts were added to the 1697 edition; while a set of still larger charts constitute Doncker's *Nieuw Groot Zeekaert-boek* of 1712.[4]

The *Zee-Atlas* of Van Loon, with its forty-five double charts, appeared in 1661.[5] It is in parts reproduced from Blaeu, De Laet, and Jannson. Its numbers 46 and 47 show the coast from Newfoundland southwards. P. Goos, in his *Lichtende Colomme*, Amsterdam, 1657, had touched the Arctic coasts of America; but in his *Zee-Atlas* of 1666 he gave in excellent manner eleven charts of the coasts of both Americas, out of the forty-one charts in all. These were all repeated in the edition of 1668–1669, and in the French edition, *Atlas de la Mer*, 1673. Other Dutch editions, with some changes, followed in 1675 and 1676. It was issued with an English text at Amsterdam in 1670.

Frederic de Witt, who had earlier appended to his *Atlas* a section of maritime charts, published his *Zee-Atlas* in 1675, which contained twenty-seven charts, eight of which were American; and in 1676 Arent Roggeveen issued his well-known navigator's chart-book, which in English is known as *The Burning Fen* (1676), and which also has a Spanish dress (1680). It gives in successive charts the whole eastern coast of the two Americas, on a large scale. Johann van Keulen, who had published a chart of the coast from Nantucket to Trinidad in 1680, issued a *Zee-Atlas* in 1682–1687, based in part upon Van Loon, enlarging it in successive issues, so that in the edition of 1694 it had 146 charts, of which 38 were American. A later edition in 1734 contained 12 large folded charts of American coasts.[6]

[1] Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, shows how copies of all these atlases are often extended by additional plates.

[2] Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 89.

[3] Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 701; Asher's *Essay*, etc.; Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. iv. no. 14,548.

[4] Cf. Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, nos. 957, etc., and Asher's *Essay*.

[5] It is one of the rarest of these *Zee-Atlases*, and is worth £7 to £10; there is a copy in Harvard College Library.

[6] Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 1,667, etc.

Near the close of the century we come to the earliest of the French marine atlases, the *Neptune Frañçais*, which Jaillot published in its enlarged form in 1693; but not till a *Suite du Neptune Français* was issued in 1700 did any charts of American coasts make part of it. This contained eleven on America, professing to be based on Sanson's drafts.

THE MAPS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING CANADA.

BY THE EDITOR.

[Detailed maps of the Upper Lakes and the Mississippi Basin, as well as those produced by Hennepin, though connected with this period, are made the subject of separate treatment elsewhere in the present volume. The general atlases are treated in the next preceding pages.]

IN the notes at the end of chapter ii. we followed the cartography of New France down to the opening of the seventeenth century. We saw in the map of Molineaux (1600) an indication of a great inland sea, as the prototype of the Great Lakes; but the general belief of the

[1] The key is as follows:
1. Discovered by Cabot.
2. Bacalaos.
3. C. Bonavista.
4. C. Raso.
5. C. Britton.
6. I. Sables.
7. I. S. John.
8. Claudia.
9. Comokee.
10. C. Chesepick.
11. Hotorast.
12. La Bermudas.
13. Bahama.
14. La Florida.
15. The Gulfe of Mexico.
16. Virginia.
17. The Lacke of Tadenac, the bounds whereof are unknowne.
18. Canada.
19. Hochelague.

MOLINEAUX, 1600.[1]

Except for the supposed inland sea, much the same configuration of Nova Francia is given in the map of not far from this date which Hondius made to illustrate Drake's voyage, and of which a fac-simile is given in the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The World Encompassed*. The same general character belongs to the Hondius map in the 1613 edition of Mercator; while in the same book the *Orbis Terræ compendiosa Descriptio* is very nearly of the original Mercator and Ortelius type, which is also closely followed in a second map, *America, sive India nova, per Michælem Mercatorem*. Another map of the same date is in Megiser's *Septentrio Novantiquus*, Leipsic, 1613.

period, just as Champlain was entering on his discoveries, is well shown in the map, "Americæ, sive Novi Orbis nova Descriptio," which appeared in Botero's *Relaciones universales*, published at Valladolid in 1603.[1]

The Spanish and the Dutch only repeated, but hardly with as much precision, what the map in Botero had shown;[2] and we only get approximate exactness when we come to the map of Lescarbot in 1609, of which sections are given in the present and in other chapters.[3] Champlain's first map was made in 1612, and his second in 1613,[4] both of which appeared in *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain*, Paris, 1613. Between the issue of these 1612 and 1613 maps of Champlain and his greater one in 1632, the cartography of New France is illustrated by several conspicuous maps. Those of Hondius and Mercator, so called, of the same year were of course unaffected by the drafts of Champlain. We begin to notice some effects of Champlain's work, however, in several of the Dutch maps; in that of Jacobsz, or Jacobsen, of 1621, for instance, of which account will be found on another page.[5] Maps by Jodocus Hondius and Blaeu represent a number of streams flowing from small lakes uniting to form the St. Lawrence. One by Jannson, in 1626, nearly resembles for the St. Lawrence region that portion of a "new and accurate map of the world, 1626," which makes part of Speed's *Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World*.

In 1625 the *Pilgrimes*[6] of Purchas introduces us to two significant maps. One is that which Sir William Alexander issued in his *Encouragement to Colonies* in 1624, and was reproduced by Purchas, calling it "New England, New Scotland, and New France." The essential part of it is given in Vol. III. chap. ix. The other is that called "The North Part of America," ascribed to Master Briggs.

In the original edition of De Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt*,[7] published in 1625, we have a map of North America; but in the 1630 (Dutch) edition we find a special map of New France, which was repeated in the (Latin) 1633 edition. Harrisse[8] is in error in assigning the

BOTERO, 1603.

[1] There is a map of the world in this work which gives much the same delineation to America.

[2] Cf. the map on the title of the *Beschryvinghe van Guiana*, Amsterdam, 1605 (given in Muller's *Books on America*, 1872). The map in Cespedes' *Regimiento de Navigacion*, Madrid, 1606, is of interest as being one of the few early printed Spanish maps. This, like those in Medina, Gomara, and Herrera, is of a small scale. The map in so well-known a book as Herrera's *Descripcion de las Indias* (1601, repeated in the 1622 edition) is very vaguely drawn for the northeastern part of America. The map in the *Detectio freti Hudsoni*, published at Amsterdam in 1613, showed as yet no signs of Champlain's discoveries.

[3] It is reproduced as a whole in Tross's edition of Lescarbot, Paris, 1866; in Faillon, *Colonie Française en Canada*, i. 85, and in the *Popham Memorial*.

[4] Harrisse, *Notes*, etc., nos. 306, 307.

[5] See chap. viii.

[6] Cf. Bibliographical Note in Vol. III. p. 47.

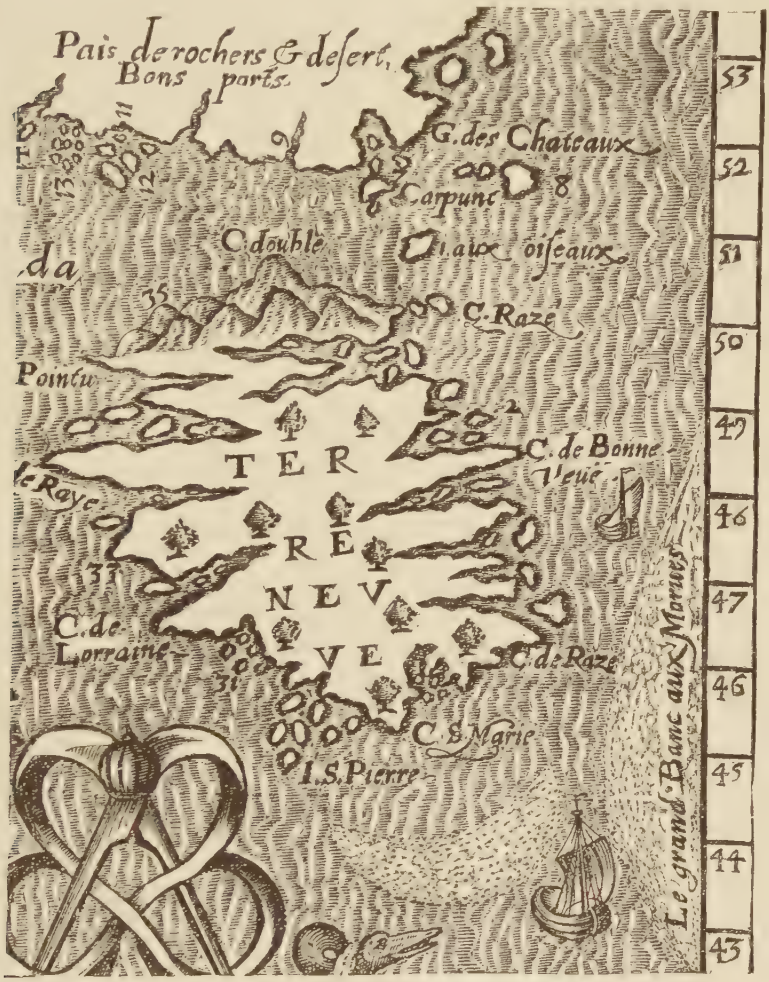
[7] See a bibliographical note in the present volume, chap. viii. Copies of the 1630 and 1633 editions are in Harvard College and the Boston Public Libraries, and in Mr. Deane's collection.

[8] *Notes*, etc., no. 323. Harrisse also assigns to 1628 a map, "Novveau Monde," by Nicolai du Dauphiné, which appeared in the French translation, 1628, of Medina's *L'Art de Naviguer*. There is a mappemonde

first appearance of this map to the 1640 French edition.

Champlain's great map appeared in his 1632 edition.

It will be observed that Champlain had reached, in his plotting of the country east of the Penobscot, something more than tolerable accuracy. Farther west, proportions and rela-



NEWFOUNDLAND, 1609.[1]

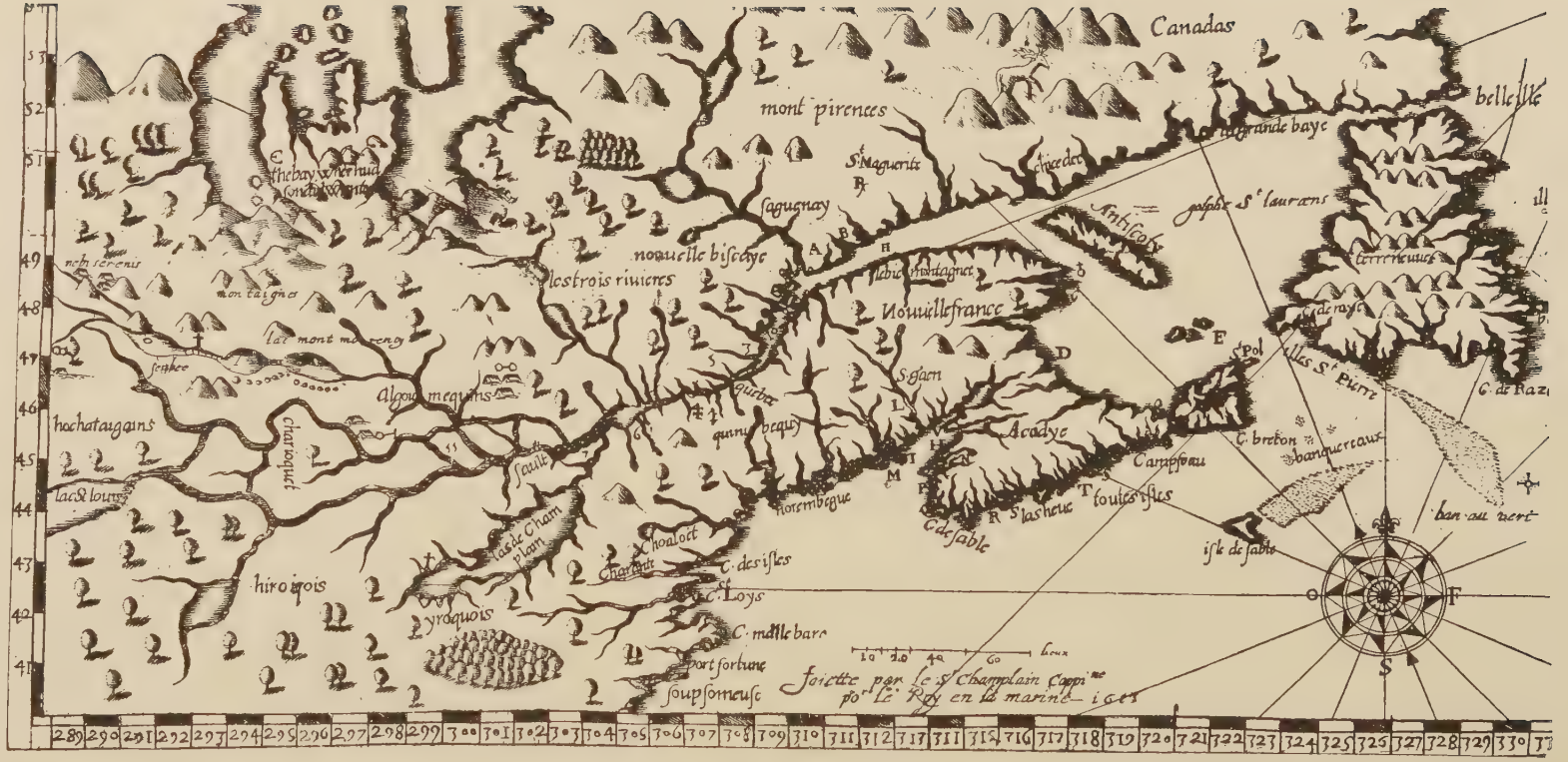
of Hondius bearing date 1630, and his *America noviter delineata* of 1631. Of about the same date is *Der Groote Noord Zee . . . beschreven door Jacob Aertz Colom*, which appeared at Amsterdam, and shows the North American coast from Smith Sound to Florida. Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 89, says it is "of the utmost rarity."

1 Part of Lescarbot's map. There is in the Kohl Collection, in the State Department at Washington, a map of the mouth of the St. Lawrence River of about this date, copied from one in the Dépôt de la Marine at Paris. Kohl also includes a map by Joannes Oliva, copied from a manuscript portolano among the Egerton Manuscripts in the British Museum, which purports to have been made at Marseilles in 1613. Its names and legends are Italian and Latin; and the map, while inferior to Hakluyt's map, bears a strong resemblance to it. It is much behind the time, except as respects the outline of Newfoundland, which seems to be more accurately drawn than before. This island was still further to be improved in Mason's map of 1626. Oliva seems to have been ignorant of Lescarbot's book.

EASTERLY PORTION OF CHAMPLAIN'S 1612 MAP.[1]

[1] These fac-similes of the 1612 map are made from the Harvard College copy. There are other fac-similes in the Boston and Quebec editions; and one by Pilinski (fifty copies at 40 francs) was made in Paris in 1878. Sabin's *Dictionary*, p. 478, says: "The copies vary in the maps. Mr. Lenox's copy differs from that in the New York Historical Society. Sometimes in one map there are more references than in the others, and the spelling of the references varies. The large map is usually in two parts, and is very often wanting or defective." Harrisse, nos. 306–318, enumerates the proper maps of this 1613 edition. The title of the 1613 edition speaks of this map: "La première servant à la navigation, dressée selon les compas, qui nordestent, sur lesquels les mariniers navigent."

WESTERLY PORTION OF CHAMPLAIN'S 1612 MAP.



PART OF CHAMPLAIN'S 1613 MAP.[1]

[1] The title of the 1613 edition speaks of this map as being "en son vray Meridien, avec ses longitudes et latitudes: à laquelle est adjousté le voyage du destroict qu'ont trouvé les Anglois, au dessus de Labrador, depuis le 53e degré de latitude, jusques au 63e én l'an 1612, cerchans un chemin par le nord pour aller à la Chine."

AMERICÆ SEPTENTRIONALIS PARS (*Jacobsz*, 1621).

tions were all wrong. The country between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Maine is much too narrow. The Penobscot is made almost to unite with the more northern river; and this error is perpetuated in the Dutch maps published by Blaeu, and Covens and Mortier

BRIGGS IN PURCHAS, 1625.

many years later. The placing of Lake Champlain within a short distance of Casco Bay was another error that the later Dutch cartographers adopted in one form or another. Lake Ontario is not greatly misshapen; but Erie is stretched

SPEED, 1626.

into a strait, while beyond a distorted Huron a "grand lac" is so placed as to leave a doubt if Superior or Michigan was intended.

Notwithstanding this pronounced belief in large inland seas, and the publication of the belief, the notion did not make converts in every direction. Two years later (1634) a map of Petrus Kærius, and even his other map, which appeared in Speed's *Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World*, published in London, gave no intimation of Champlain's results. The same backwardness of knowledge or apprehension is apparent in the map which accompanies the Amsterdam edition of Linschoten in 1644; in that of the world, dated 1651, which appeared in Speed's 1676 edition; in the map in Petavius's *History of the World*, London, 1659; and in two maps of N. I. Visscher, both dated 1652, which make the St. Lawrence River rise in the neighborhood of the Colorado. We might not expect the *Zee-Atlas* of Van Loon to give signs of the inland lakes; but it is strange that the map "Americæ nova descriptio," ignoring the great interior waters, was used in editions of Heylin's *Cosmographie*, in London, from 1669 to 1677.

Some of the Dutch cartographers were not so inalert. Johannes Jannson in his *America septentrionalis*, and even Visscher himself in his *Novissima et accuratissima totius Americæ Descriptio* give diverse interpretations to this idea of the inland seas. The draft in the Hexham Eng-

NOVA FRANCIA ET REGIONES ADJACENTES (*De Laet*).[1]

[1] Cf. another section of De Laet's map in chap. viii. De Laet was much better informed than Champlain regarding the relative position of Lake Champlain to New England; and he placed it more in accordance with the English belief, as expressed by Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (Adams's edition, p. 234), who speaks of Lake Champlain as being three hundred miles distant from Massachusetts Bay, — a distance somewhat in excess. De Laet's map is also given in Cassell's *United States*, i. 240.

lish translation (1636) of the Mercator-Hondius atlas is not much nearer that of Champlain.

Harrisse (*Notes*, etc., nos. 190, 191) refers to two charts of the St. Lawrence of 1641 which are preserved in Paris, and are known to be the work of Jean Bourdon, who came to Quebec in 1633–34. Perhaps one of these is the same referred to by Kohl, as dated 1635, and in the *Dépôt de la Marine*, of which a copy is in the Kohl Collection in the State Department at Washington. Harrisse also (no. 324) refers to a *Description de la Nouvelle France*, — a map published by Boisseau in Paris in 1643.

The map in Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* (Florence, 1647), called "Carta particolare della terra nuova, con la gran Baia et il Fiume grande della Canida: D' America, carta prima,"[1] presents a surprise in making the St. Croix River connect the Bay of Fundy with the St. Lawrence; and Dudley seems to have had very confused notions of the sites of Hochelaga and the Saguenay. The annexed sketch is much reduced.

JANNSON.

The same transverse strait appears in *Carte générale des Costes de l'Amérique*, published at Amsterdam by Covens and Mortier. A treatment of the geographical problem of the lakes which had more or less vogue, is shown in Gottfried's *Neue Welt*, 1655, in a map called "America noviter delineata;" and this same treatment was preserved by Blaeu so late as 1685.

A most decided advance came with the map, *Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France*, of Nicolas Sanson in 1656,[2] — a far better correlation of the three lower lakes than we had found in Champlain, with an indication of those farther west.[3] Contemporary with Sanson was the English geographer Peter Heylin, whose map, as has already been noted, betrays no knowledge of Champlain. His *Cosmographie in Four Books* appeared in 1657,[4] and the second part of the fourth book relates to America, and is accompanied by the map in question. The contemporary Dutch maps of Jannson, Visscher, and Blaeu deserve little notice as contributions to knowledge.[5]

VISSCHER.

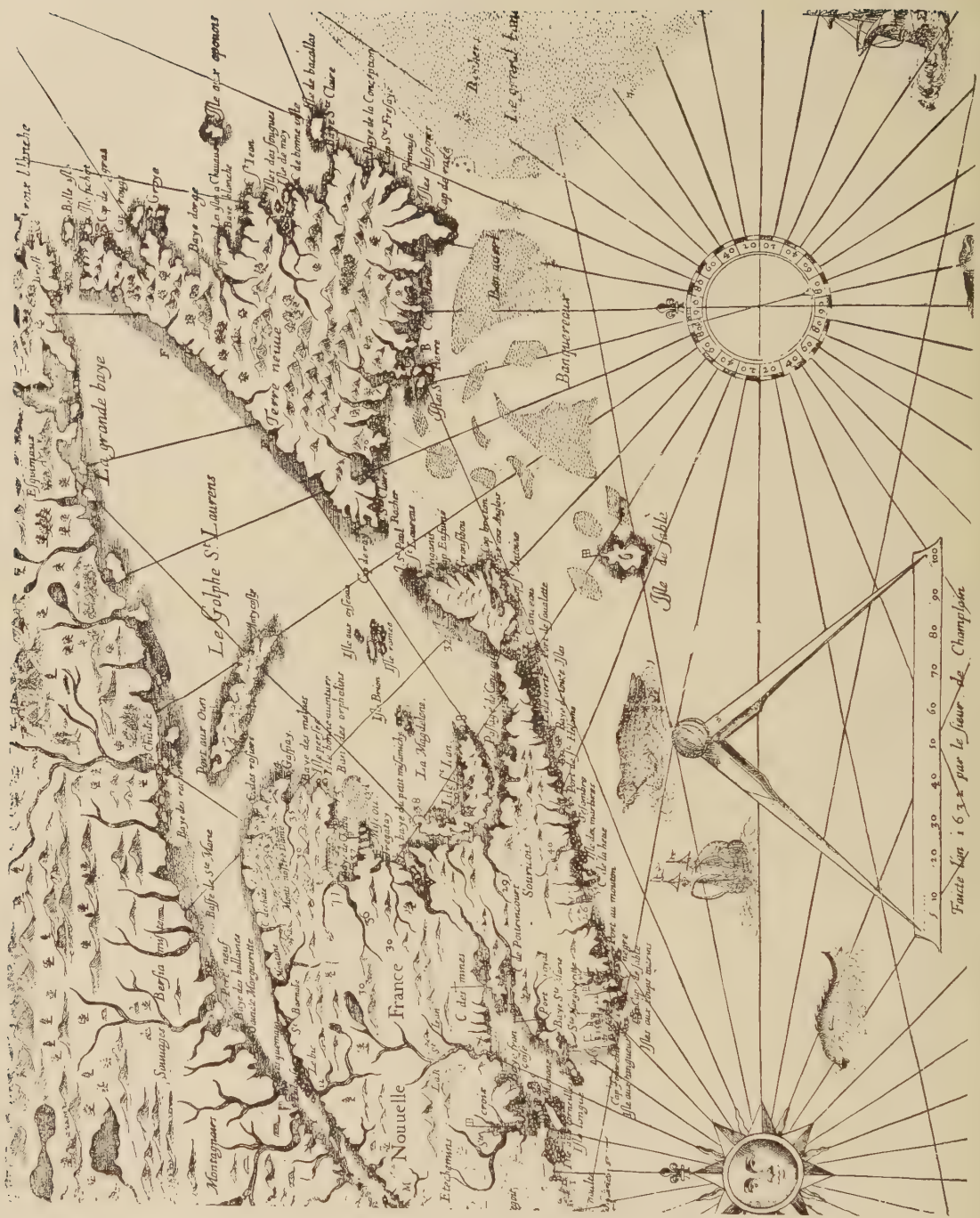
1 Harrisse, *Notes*, etc. nos. 270, 271.

2 Harrisse, no. 327. Sanson had already published a map of North America in 1650 (Harrisse, no. 325). As contemporary maps, reference may be made to a map of Nicolosius (Harrisse, no. 268); and to one in Wright's *Certain Errors in Navigation*. Harrisse (no. 336) refers to a later map of Sanson (1667), before his son published his revision in 1669.

3 Similar delineations of these western lakes appear on various maps of about this time, including those credited to Valck and F. de Witt, and others marked "P. Schenk, ex.," and "per Jacobum de Sandrart, Norimbergæ, B. Homann sculpsit." Guillaume Sanson embodied the same representations in his *Amérique septentrionale* in 1669 (Harrisse, no. 338), and the next year (1670) they again appeared on the map attached to Blome's *Description of the World*. Still later they are found in Jaillot's *Amérique septentrionale* (1694); in the map in Campanius' *Nya Swerige* (1702), and even so late as 1741 in Van der Aa's *Galerie agréable du Monde*.

4 There were various later editions, — 1662, 1674, 1677 (with map dated 1663).

5 Harrisse, *Notes*, etc., nos. 269, 272, 328; Uricoechea, *Mapoteca Colombiana*, no. 42, etc.



EASTERLY PORTION OF CHAMPLAIN'S MAP 1632.[1]

[1] The great map of 1632, by Champlain, has been reproduced full size in the Quebec edition of his works, and also in the Prince Society edition. A fac-simile, somewhat reduced, is given in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, vol. iii. Another, full size, was made by Pilinski in 1860, and published by Tross, of Paris (thirty-six copies, and of date, 1877, fifty copies at 40 francs). Field calls it "imperfect." Brunet, however, says it has "une admirable exactitude." The copy of the 1632 edition in the

La Nation des Puans
Isle ou il y a vne mine de cuiure.
Grand lac.
Mer douce.
Descouuertures de ce grand lac, et de toutes ses terres depuis le saulte S. Louis par le Sr de Champlain, es années 1614. et 1615. iusques en l'an 1618
Sault
Petite nation des Algommequins
Les trois riuieres
Algommequins
Chasse descaribous
Hurons
Lac S. Louis
Saint-Ionge.
Hirocoir
Antouronons
Les gens de assistaqueronons
La nation neutre
Notion ou il y a quantité de beuffles
Habitation de sauuages mangeantes chair humaine
Riuiere de Champlain
Baye de nostre Dame
Isle de l'Ascension
Carantouannais
Virginia.
C. Charles
C. Henry
Carte de la nouuelle france, augmentée depuis la derniere, seruant a la nauigation faicte en son vray Meridien, par le Sr de Champlain Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine, lequel depuis l'an 1603 iusques en l'année 1629 a descouuert plusieurs costes, terres, lacs, riuieres, et Nations de sauuages, par cy deuant incognues, comme il se void en ses relations qui a esté Imprimée en 1632. ou il se void cette marque Fle ce sont habitations quont faict les françois
WESTERLY PORTION OF CHAMPLAIN'S 1632 MAP.

DUDLEY, 1647.

Of the map of Creuxius, made in 1660 and published in 1664, a fac-simile of a part is annexed.[1] For the eastern parts of the country reference may be made to the map *Tabula Novæ*

Bibliothèque Nationale lacks this map. The Harvard Le Mur copy has no map (Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 268).

Sabin (no. 11,839) says that the map here copied (the original of which is in the Harvard College "Collet" copy) belongs properly to the copies having the Le Mur and Sevestre imprints, and has the legend, "Faict l'an 1632 par le Sieur de Champlain;" while the proper Collet map is smaller, and is inscribed, "Faict par le Sieur de Champlain, suivant les Mémoires de P. du Val, en l'Isle du Palais." The earliest copy, however, which I have found of the map thus referred to bears date 1664, and is called *Le Canada, faict par le Sr. de Champlain, . . . suivant les Mémoires de P. du Val, Géographe du Roy.* This map appeared with even later dates (1677, etc.), preserving much of the characteristics of the 1632 map, though stretching the plot farther west, and at a time when much better knowledge was current. Harrisse, nos. 331, 348; but cf. no. 274. Kohl, in the Department of State Collection, has one of date 1660.

[1] See the Editorial Note on the *Jesuit Relations.*

SVPERIOR
Cataractes
PASITICOLCII
Saltus
NipiSIRINII
Fl. achiri
NouKecij
Magnus Lacus algonquinorum seu Lacus Poetetiuum
MARE DVLCE
seu
LACVS
HVRONVM
Natio Surrectorii capillorum
Insula
ERIENTOTO
Natio algonquia
Insula algonquinorum
Natio uinoru minor.
algonq: m
Pisguthaus Lacus.
ASNAQVTOII
NOVA
ANGLIA
bristoium
plimutis
Soquoquioii.
NOVA
HOL
LAN
DIA.
Godsx prom.
Nassouium.
Lemburgũ
pro. Meianu.
pro. hinlopenum.
GENS NEVTRA
LACVS ONTARIVS
LACVS ERIVS
seu FELIS
IRO
QVI
ONONTARRONNI
OIONEHI
VIR GI
NATIO FELIVM
ANDASTOEI
seu natio perticarum.
Longthe moeus Fl.
NIA
CREUXIUS, 1660.

Franciæ, of about 1663, given in the chapter on Acadie.[1]

One of the volumes of the great *Blaeu Atlas* of 1662, *America, quæ est Geographiæ Blavianæ* great folio on *America*, 1670, and later years, seems to be substantially N. Visscher's map of the same title, issued in Amsterdam in the same year.[2]

CARTE GÉNÉRALE OF COVENS AND MORTIER.

Pars quinta, very singularly ignored all that the cartographers of New France had been long divulging, and the same misrepresentation was persistently employed in the later *Blaeu Atlas* of

GOTTFRIED, 1655.

1685, which contained in other American maps a variety of notions equally erroneous, and which had been current at a period very long passed.

The map in Montanus's *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, 1670, "per Jacobum Meursium," not the same as the "Novissima et accuratissima totius Americæ Descriptio" of John Ogilby's

The maps of Hennepin (1683–1697) form a part of a special note elsewhere in the present volume; and the map accompanying Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foy*, 1691, is also reproduced in Shea's translation of that book.[3] It makes the Mississippi debouch on the Texas shore of the Gulf of Mexico, as many of the maps of this period do.

Maps of a general character, indicating a knowledge of the interior topography of America, sometimes expanding, and not seldom retrograde, followed rapidly as the century was closing, of which the most important were the maps of *Amérique septentrionale* (1667, 1669, 1674, 1685, 1690, 1692, 1695), by the Sansons, and the Roman reprint of it in 1677,[4] as well as *La Mer du Nort* of Du Val in 1679,[5] Sanson's *Le Nouveau Mexique*, of the same year, which extends from Montreal to the Gulf;[6] the *North America* of the English geographer, William Berry (1680);[7] the *Partie de la Nouvelle France* of Hubert Jaillott (1685);[8] and the same cartographer's *Amérique septentrionale* of 1694, and *Le Monde* of 1696; the *Carte Generalle de la Nouvelle France*[9] (1692) engraved by Boudan; the *Amérique septentrionale* of De Fer (1693); the marine *Cartes*

[1] Harrisse (no. 197) refers to a manuscript map in the Paris Archives of 1665, showing the coast from Labrador to Mexico.

[2] Cf. Stevens's *Bibliotheca Geographica*, no. 2,016.

[3] See chap. vi.

[4] Harrisse, nos. 336, 338, 344, 345, 347, 356, 363, 370; Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, p. 236.

[5] Harrisse, no. 349. [6] Harrisse, no. 350. [7] Harrisse, no. 351. [8] Harrisse, no. 354.

[9] Ibid., no. 367.

SANSON, 1656.[1]

BLAEU, 1662 AND 1685.[2]

1 This is the same map, whether with the imprint, "Paris, chez Pierre Mariette, 1656," or "Chez l'Autheur" in his *America en plusieurs Cartes*, 1657, though the scale in the former is much larger.

2 Cf. a section in Cassell's *United States*, i. 312.

NOVI BELGII TABULA, 1670.[1]

[1] From Ogilby's *America*, p. 169.

OGILBY'S MAP, 1670.

(1696) of Le Cordier;[1] the *New Sett of Maps* published by Edward Wells in London in 1698–99; and finally the *Amérique septentrionale* of Delisle.[2] The maps of La Hontan (1703–1709) are the subject of special treatment in another note.

If we run through the series of maps here sketched, we cannot but be struck with the unsettled notions regarding the geography of the St. Lawrence Valley. Beginning with the clear intimation by Molineaux, in 1600, of a great body of interior water, which was the mysterious link between the Atlantic and the Arctic seas, and finding this idea modified by Botero and others, we see Champlain in 1613 still leaving it vague. The maps of the next few years paid little attention to any features farther west than the limit of tide-water; and not till we reach the great map which accompanied the final edition of Champlain's collected voyages

[1] Harrisse, nos. 371, 372.

[2] Harrisse, no. 374.

FROM CAMPANIUS, 1702.

in 1632 do we begin to get a distorted plot of the upper lakes, Lake Erie being nothing more than a channel of varying width connecting them with Lake Huron. The first really serviceable delineation of the great lakes were the maps of Sanson aud Du Creux, or Creuxius, in 1656 and 1660. Here we find Lake Erie given its due prominence; Huron is unduly large, but in its right position; and Michigan and Superior, though not completed, are placed with approximate accuracy. This truth of position, however, was disregarded by many a later geographer, till we reach a type of map, about the end of the century, which is exemplified in that given by Campanius in 1702.

A water-way which made an island of greater or less extent of the peninsula which lies between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, appeared first in 1600 on the Molineaux map, and was repeated by Dudley in 1647; but on other maps the watersheds were separated by a narrow tract. So much uncertainty attended this feature that the short portage of the prevailing notion was far from constant in its position, and on some maps seems repeated in more than one place, — taking now the appearance of a connection on the line of the St. Croix, or some other river of New Brunswick; now on that of the Kennebec and Chaudière; again as if having some connection with Lake Champlain, when a misconception of its true position placed that expanse of water between the Connecticut and the Saco; and once more on the line of the Hudson and Lake George.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW NETHERLAND, OR THE DUTCH IN NORTH AMERICA

BY BERTHOLD FERNOW,

Keeper of the Historical Records, State of New York.

SAYS Carlyle: "Those Dutch are a strong people. They raised their land out of a marsh, and went on for a long period of time breeding cows and making cheese, and might have gone on with their cows and cheese till doomsday. But Spain comes over and says, 'We want you to believe in St. Ignatius.' 'Very sorry,' replied the Dutch, 'but we can't.' 'God! but you *must*,' says Spain; and they went about with guns and swords to make the Dutch believe in St. Ignatius. Never made them believe in him, but did succeed in breaking their own vertebral column forever, and raising the Dutch into a great nation."

A nation's struggle for religious liberty comes upon every individual member of that nation as a personal matter, as a battle to be fought with himself and with the world. Hence we see the Dutch, encouraged by the large influx of Belgians whom the same unwillingness to believe in St. Ignatius had driven out of their homes, emerge from the conflict with Spain, individually and as a nation, more self-reliant, sturdy, and independent than ever before.

Compelled by the physical condition of their country to become a maritime nation, while other circumstances directed them to commercial pursuits, they had long been the common carriers of the sea, and had availed themselves at an early date of the discoveries made by the Cabots, Verrazano, and other adventurous explorers in the century succeeding the voyages of Columbus. They had studied the weak points of that vast Spanish empire "where the sun never set," and found in the war with Spain a good excuse to make use of their knowledge, and to send their ships to the West Indies and the Spanish main to prey upon the commerce of their enemies. The first proposition to make such an expedition, submitted to the States-General in 1581 by an English sea-captain, Beets, and refused by them, was undoubtedly conceived in a purely commercial spirit. Gradually the idea of destroying the transatlantic resources of Spain, and thereby

compelling her to submit to the Dutch conditions of peace and to the evacuation of Belgium, caused the formation of a West India company, which, authorized to trade with and fight the Spaniards in American waters, appears in the light of a necessary political measure, without, however, throwing in the background the necessity of finding a shorter route to the East Indies.[1]

Although the scheme to form a West India company was first broached in 1592 by William Usselinx, an exiled Antwerp merchant, it was many years before it could be carried out. The longing for a share in the riches of the New World conduced in the mean time to the establishment of the "Greenland Company" about 1596, and the pretended search by its ships for a northwest passage led to a supposed first discovery of the Hudson River, if we may rely upon an unsupported statement made by officers of the West India Company in an appeal for assistance to the Assembly of the Nineteen in 1644. According to this document, ships of the Greenland Company had entered the North and Delaware rivers in 1598; their crews had landed in both places, and had built small forts to protect them against the inclemency of the winter and to resist the attacks of the Indians.

Of the next adventurer who sailed through the Narrows we know more, and of his discoveries we have documentary evidence. A company of English merchants had organized to trade to America in the first years of the seventeenth century. Their first adventures, directed to Guiana and Virginia, were not successful,[2] yet gave a new impetus to the scheme originally conceived by Usselinx. A plan for the organization of a West India company was drawn up in 1606, according to the exiled Belgian's ideas. The company was to be in existence thirty-six years, to receive during the first six years assistance from all the United Provinces, and to be managed in the same manner as the East India Company. Political considerations on one side and rivalry between the Provinces on the other prevented the consummation of this project. A peace or truce with Spain was about to be negotiated, and Oldenbarnevelt, then Advocate of Holland and one of the most prominent and influential members of the peace party, foresaw that the organization of a West India company with the avowed purpose of obtaining most of its profits by preying on Spanish commerce in American waters would only prolong the war. Probably he saw still farther. Usselinx's plan was, as we have seen, to compel Spain by these means to evacuate Belgium, and thus give her exiled sons a chance to return to their old homes. A wholesale departure of the shrewd, industrious, and skilled Belgians would have deprived Holland of her political pre-eminence and have left her an obscure and isolated province. On the other hand, each province and each seaport desired a share in the equipping of the fleet destined to sail in the interests of the proposed company, and as no province

[1] I am inclined to consider this desire of finding a new and shorter passage to Cathay a flimsy excuse for premeditated descents upon the Spanish conquests, and shall give my reasons in the proper place.

[2] [See Vol. III., chaps. iv. and v. — Ed.]

was willing to allow a rival to have what she could not have, the project itself between these two extremes of the opposing parties came to nought. It was only when Oldenbarnevelt, accused of high treason, had been lodged in prison, and the renewal of the war with Spain had been commended to the public, that the scheme was taken up again, in 1618.

Private ships, sailing from Dutch ports, had not been idle in the mean time; in 1607 we hear of them in Canada trading for furs, and in 1609 an English mariner, Henry Hudson, who had made several voyages for the English company already mentioned, offered his services to the East India Company to search for the passage to India by the north.

Under the auspices of the Amsterdam chamber of this company Hudson left the Texel in the yacht "Half Moon" April 4, 1609. His failures in the years 1607 and 1608, while in the employ of the English company, had discouraged neither him nor his new employers; but soon ice and fogs compel him, so we are told, to abandon his original plan to go to the East Indies by a possible northeast passage, and he proposes to his crew a search for a northwest passage along the American coast, at about the 40th degree of latitude. A contemporary writer states: "This idea had been suggested to Hudson by some letters and maps which his friend Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the Western Ocean by the north of Virginia." So westward Hudson turns the bow of his ship, to make a first landfall on the coast of Newfoundland, a second at Penobscot Bay, and a third at Cape Cod. Thence he takes a southwest course, but again fails to strike land under the 40th degree; he has gone too far south by one degree, and he anchors in a wide bay under 39° 5′ on the 28th of August. He is in Delaware Bay. Scarcely a week later, on the 4th of September, he finds himself with his yacht in the "Great North River of New Netherland," under 40° 30′. A month later, to a day, he passes again out of the "Great mouth of the Great River," homeward bound to report that what he had thought to be the long and vainly sought northwest passage was only a great river, navigable for vessels of light draught for one hundred and fifty miles, and running through a country fair to look upon and inhabited by red men peacefully inclined. Little did Hudson think, while he was navigating the waters named for him, that Champlain, another explorer, had recently been fighting his way up the shores of the lake now bearing his name, and that, a century and a half later, the great battle for supremacy on this continent between France and England, — between the old religion and the new, — would be fiercely waged in those peaceful regions.

The report brought home by Hudson, that the newly discovered country abounded in fur-bearing animals, created the wildest excitement among a people compelled by their northern climate to resort to very warm clothing in winter. Many private ventures, therefore, followed Hudson's track soon after his return, and finally the plan to organize a West India company, never quite relinquished, was now, 1618, destined to be carried out. There

was in this juncture less opposition to it; but still various reasons delayed the consent of the States-General until June, 1621, when at last they signed the charter. Englishmen from Virginia, who claimed the country under a grant, had tried to oust the Dutch, who had before this established themselves on the banks of the Hudson, under the *octroi* of 1614. The West India Company nevertheless, undismayed, took possession, in 1623, by sending Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey as director to the Prince Hendrick or South River (Delaware), and Adrian Jorissen Tienpont in like capacity to the Prince Mauritius or North River. Mey, going up the South River, fifteen leagues from its mouth erected in the present town of Gloucester, N. J., about four miles below Philadelphia, Fort Nassau, the first European settlement in that region; while the director on the North River, besides strengthening the establishment which he found at its mouth, built a fort a few miles above the one erected in 1618 near the mouth of the Normanskil, now Albany, by the servants of the "United New Netherland Company," and called it "Fort Orange."

Tienpont's successor, Peter Minuit, three years later, in 1626, bought from the Indians the whole of Manhattan Island for the value of about twenty-four dollars, with the view of making this the principal settlement.

This purchase and the organization, under the charter, of a council with supreme executive, legislative, and judicial authority, must be considered the first foundation of our present State of New York, even though the titles of the officers constituting the council, — upper and under merchant, commissary, book-keeper of monthly wages, — seem to prove that in the beginning the Company had only purely commercial ends in view. Their charter of 1621, it is true, required them "to advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts," but not until the trade with New Netherland threatened to become unprofitable, in 1627–28, was a plan taken into consideration to reap other benefits than those accruing from the fur-trade alone, through a more extended colonization. The deliberations of the Assembly of the Nineteen and directors of the West India Company resulted in a new "charter of freedoms and exemptions," sanctioned by the States-General, June 7, 1629. Its provisions, no more favorable to liberty, as we understand it now, than that of 1621, attempted to transplant to the soil of New York the feudal system of Europe as it had already been established in Canada; and with it was imported the first germ of that weakening disease, — inadequate revenues, — which caused the colony to fall such an easy prey to England's attack in 1664. While the charter was still under discussion, several of the Company's directors took advantage of their position and secured for themselves a share of the new privileges by purchasing from the Indians, as the charter required, the most conveniently located and fertile tracts of land. The records of the acknowledgment of these transactions before the Director and Council

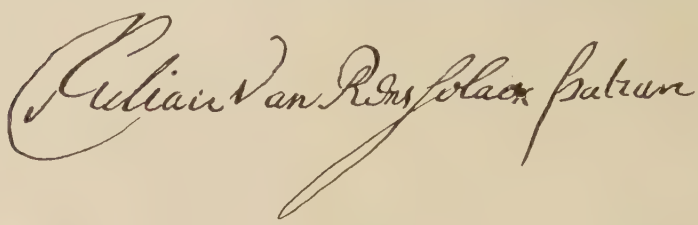
of the Colony are the earliest which are extant in the original now in the possession of the State of New York. They bear dates from April, 1630, to July, 1631, and include the present counties of Albany and Richmond, N. Y., the cities of Hoboken and Jersey City, N. J., and the southern parts of the States of New Jersey and Delaware.

This mode of acquiring lands from the Indians by purchase established from the beginning the principles by which the intercourse between the white and the red men in the valley of the Hudson was to be regulated. The great Indian problem, which has been and still is a question of paramount importance to the United States Government, was solved then by the Dutch of New Netherland without great difficulty. Persecuted by Spain and France for their religious convictions, the Dutch had learned to tolerate the superstitions and even repugnant beliefs of others. Not less religious than the Puritans of New England, they made no such religious pretexts for tyranny and cruelty as mar the records of their neighbors. They treated the Indian as a man with rights of life, liberty, opinion, and property like their own. Truthful among themselves, they inspired in the Indian a belief in their sincerity and honesty, and purchased what they wanted fairly and with the consent of the seller. The Dutch *régime* always upheld this principle, and as a consequence the Indians of this State caused no further difficulty, with a few exceptions, to the settlers than a financial outlay. The historians who charge the Dutch with pusillanimity and cowardice in their dealings with the Indians forget that to their policy we owe to-day the existence of the United States.

The country between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River, the Great Lakes and the Savannah River, was at the time of the arrival of the Dutch practically ruled by a confederacy of Indian tribes, — the Five Nations, —who, settled along the Mohawk and Upper Hudson rivers and in western New York, commanded the key to the continent. It was indeed in their power, had they pleased, to allow the French of Canada to crush the Dutch settlements on the Hudson; and had this territory become a French province, the united action of the American colonies in the French and Revolutionary wars would have been an impossibility. These Five Nations, called by the Jesuit fathers living among them the most enlightened but also the most intractable and ferocious of all the Indians, became soon after the arrival of the Dutch the stanch friends of the new-comers, and remained so during the whole Dutch period. The English wisely adhered to this Indian policy of the Dutch, and by the continued friendship of the Five Nations were enabled successfully to contend with the French for the supremacy on this continent.

The purchasers of the tracts already mentioned — with one exception, associations of Dutch merchants—lost no time in sending out people to settle their colonies. Renselaerswyck, adjoining and surrounding Fort Orange, had in 1630 already a population of thirty males, of whom several had families, sent out by the Association recognizing Kilian van

Renselaer, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, as patroon. The same men, associated with several others, among whom was Captain David Pietersen de Vries, had bought the present counties of Sussex and Kent, in the State of Delaware, to which by a purchase made the following year they added the present Cape May County, N. J. On December 12, 1630, they sent two vessels to the Delaware or South River, "to plant a colony for the cultivation of grain and tobacco, as well as to carry on the whale-fishery in that region." They carried out the first part of the plan, but were so unsuccessful in the second part that the expedition proved a losing one. Undismayed by their financial loss, another was sent out in May, 1632, under Captain de Vries' personal command, although information had been received that the settlement on the South River, Zwanendael, had been destroyed by the Indians, and all the settlers, thirty-two in number, killed. Arriving opposite Zwanendael, De Vries found the news but too true; and after visiting the old Fort Nassau, now deserted, and loitering a while in the river, he left the region without any further attempt at colonization. The pecuniary losses attending these two unfortunate expeditions induced the patroons of Zwanendael, two years later, to dispose of their right and title to these tracts of land to the West India Company.



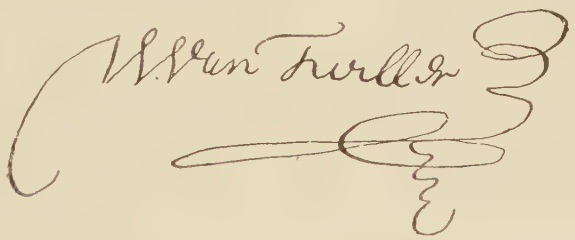
Shortly before Minuit was appointed director of New Netherland, a number of Walloons, compelled by French intolerance to leave their homes between the rivers Scheldt and Lys, had applied to Sir Dudley Carleton, principal Secretary of State to King Charles I., for permission to settle in Virginia. The answer of the Virginia Company not proving satisfactory, they turned their eyes upon New Netherland, where a small number of them arrived with Minuit. For some reasons they left the lands first allotted to them on Staten Island, and went over to Long Island, where Wallabout,[1] in the city of Brooklyn, still reminds us of the origin of its first settlers. It will be remembered that Englishmen from Virginia (under Captain Samuel Argal, in 1613) had attempted to drive the Dutch from the Hudson River.[2] It is said that the Dutch then acknowledged the English title to this region under a grant of Queen Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, and made an arrangement for their continuing there on sufferance. Be that as it may, the West India Company had paid no heed to this early warning. Now, in 1627, the matter was to be recalled to their minds in a manner more diplomatic than Argal's, by a letter from Governor Bradford of Plymouth Colony, which most earnestly asserted the right of the English to the territory occupied by the Dutch. This urged the latter to clear their title, for

[1] *Wahlebocht*, bay of the foreigners.

[2] [See Vol. III., chap. v.; also, later in the present chapter. — Ed.]

otherwise it said: "It will be harder and with more difficulty obtained hereafter, and perhaps not without blows." Before the director's appeal for assistance against possible English invaders reached the home office, the Company had already taken steps to remove some of the causes which might endanger their colony. They had obtained, September, 1627, from King Charles I. an order giving to their vessels the same privileges as had been granted by the treaty of Southampton to all national vessels of Holland, — that is, freedom of trade to all ports of England and her colonies. But their title to New Netherland was not cleared, because they could not do it; for they did not dare to assert the pretensions to the *premier seisin*, then considered valid according to that maxim of the civil law, "*quæ nullius sunt, in bonis dantur occupanti;*" nor did they later claim the right of first discovery when, after the surrender of New Netherland to the English, in 1664, negotiations were had concerning restitution. Only once did they claim a title by such discovery. This was when the ship "Union," bringing home the recalled director Minuit (1632), was attached in an English port, at the suit of the New England Company, on a charge which had been made notwithstanding the King's order of September, 1627, and which alleged that the ship had obtained her cargo in countries subject to his Majesty. The denial of this claim and the counter claim of first discovery by Englishmen set up by the British ministry failed to bring forth a rejoinder from their High Mightinesses of Holland.

When De Vries, having ascertained the destruction of his colony on the Delaware, came to New Amsterdam, he found there the newly appointed director, Wouter van Twiller, just arrived. He was, as De Vries thought, "an unfit person," whom family influence had suddenly raised from a clerkship in the Company's office at Amsterdam to the governorship of New Netherland "to perform a comedy," and his council De Vries calls "a pack of fools, who knew nothing except to drink, by whose management the Company must come to nought." De Vries' prediction came near being realized. Seized with a mania for territorial aggrandizement, Van Twiller bought from the Indians a part of the Connecticut territory in 1633, and by building Fort Hope, near the present site of Hartford, planted the seed for another quarrel with the English at Boston, who claimed all the land from the Narragansetts nearly to the Manhattans under a grant made in 1631 to the Earl of Warwick, and under a subsequent transfer from the latter in 1632 to Lord Say and Seal's company. Notwithstanding their numerical weakness, the Dutch kept a footing in Connecticut for nearly twenty years; but they could not prevent the same Englishmen from invading Long Island in a like manner, and being prominent actors in the



final catastrophe of 1664. Another purchase made by Van Twiller from the Indians, also in 1633, which included the territory on the Schuylkill, the building of Fort Beeversreede there and additions made to Fort Nassau, put new life into the sinking settlement on the Delaware River, and thus gave color to the subsequent statement, made in the dispute with the Swedes, that they (the Dutch) had never relinquished their hold upon this territory.[1] Thoroughly imbued with a sense of the wealth and power of the West India Company, then in the zenith of its power, Van Twiller expended the revenues of his government lavishly in building up New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, and, without regard for official ethics, abused his position still further at the expense of the Company, by granting to himself and his boon companions the most fertile tracts of land on and near Manhattan and Long islands. His irregular proceedings, finally brought to the notice of the States-General by the law officer of New Netherland, led to his recall in 1637, when he was succeeded by William Kieft.

Up to this time the history of New Netherland is more or less a history of the acts of the director, who proceeded more like the agent of a great commercial institution than the ruler of a vast province. He assumed to be the head of the agency, and all the other inhabitants of the colony were either his servants or his tenants. Nominally he was also directed to supervise the proceedings of adjoining colonies of the same nationality; but they either died out, like Pavonia (New Jersey) and Zwanendael (Delaware), or as yet the interests of those private establishments, like Renselaerswyck (Albany) had not come in conflict with those of the Company so as to call forth the authority vested in the director. The relations with the Indians had also been amicable so far, a slight misunderstanding with the New Jersey Indians excepted; and the quarrel with the English about the Connecticut lands having been referred to the home authorities for settlement, this complication did not require any display of statesmanship. The province having been brought to the verge of ruin by Wouter van Twiller, up to the beginning of whose administration it had returned a profit of $75,000 to the Company, the abilities of his successor were taxed to their utmost to rebuild it, and his statesmanship was tried in his dealings with the Swedes, the English, and the Indians.

The absorption, for their own benefit, of the most fertile lands by officers of the Company had naturally tended to prevent actual settlers from coming to New Netherland, and the Company itself had thus far failed to send over colonists, as required by the charter. The incessant disputes between the Amsterdam department of the Company and the patroons of Renselaerswyck over the interpretation of the privileges granted in 1629, and the complaints of the fiscal[2] of New Netherland against Wouter van Twiller, which pointedly referred to the general mal-

[1] [See this Vol., chap. ix. — Ed.]

[2] The schout-fiscal was a member of the Council, but had no vote. He attended the sessions of the Council to give his opinion upon any financial or judicial question; and, if required, acted as public prosecutor.

administration of the province, at last induced their High Mightinesses to turn their attention to it. A short investigation compelled them to announce officially that the colony was retrograding, its population decreasing, and that it required a change in the administration of its affairs. But as the charter of the Company was the fundamental evil, the Government was almost powerless to enforce its demands, and had to be satisfied with recommending to the Assembly of the Nineteen of the West India Company the adoption of a plan for the effectual settlement of the country and the encouragement of a sound and healthful emigration. This step resulted in overthrowing the monopoly of the American trade enjoyed by the Company since 1623, and in opening not only the trade, but also the cultivation of the soil under certain conditions, to every immigrant, denizen, or foreigner. The new order of things gave to the drooping colony a fresh lease of life. Its population, hitherto only transient, as it consisted mainly of the Company's servants, who returned to Europe at the expiration of their respective terms, now became permanent, —" whole colonies " coming " to escape the insupportable government of New England;" servants who had obtained their liberty in Maryland and Virginia availing themselves of the opportunity to make use of the experience acquired on the tobacco plantations of their English masters; wealthy individuals of the more educated classes emigrating with their families and importing large quantities of stock; and the peasant farmers of continental Europe seeking freehold homes on the banks of the Hudson and on Long Island, which they could not acquire in the land of their birth. These all flocked now to New Netherland, and gave to New Amsterdam something of its present cosmopolitan character; for Father Jogues found there in 1643 eighteen different nationalities represented by its population. Two other invasions, however, of New Netherland brought a people likewise intent upon the cultivation of the soil and trading with the Indians; but they were not such as " acknowledged their High Mightinesses and the Directors of the West India Company as their suzerain lords and masters," and these caused some anxiety and trouble to the new director.

The first of these invasions, arriving on this side of the Atlantic in Delaware Bay almost simultaneously with Kieft, was made in pursuance of a plan long cherished by the great Protestant hero of the seventeenth century, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, to give his country a share in the harvest which other nations were then gathering in the New World. Various reasons deferred the carrying out of this plan, first laid before the King in 1626 by the same Usselinx who planned the West India Company; and not until 1638 did the South Company of Sweden send out their first adventure under another man, also formerly connected with the West India Company, Peter Minuit.

Kieft's protest against this intrusion had no effect upon the Swedish commander and his colony, whose history is told in another chapter. More energy was displayed by the Dutch two years later in dealing with some

Englishmen from New Haven, who began a settlement on the Schuylkill River, opposite Fort Nassau, and who were promptly driven away. Laxity and corruption on the part of the Dutch local director seems to have been the cause of the almost inexplicable patience with which the Dutch bore the encroachments made by the Swedes; and not until the government of New Netherland was intrusted to the energetic Stuyvesant was anything done to counteract the Swedish influences on the Delaware. Stuyvesant built in 1651 a new fort (Casimir, now Newcastle, Del.), below the Swedish fort Christina (Wilmington), the treacherous surrender of which, in 1654, to a newly arriving Swedish governor, led in 1655 to the complete overthrow of Swedish rule.

The next two years, to 1657, the inhabitants of the Delaware territory had to suffer under the mismanagement of various commanders appointed by the Director-General and Council, whose lack of administrative talent helped not a little to embarrass the Company financially. Under pressure of monetary difficulty, part of the Delaware region was ceded by the Company to the municipality of Amsterdam in Holland, which in May, 1657, established a new colony at Fort Casimir, calling it New Amstel, while the name of Christina was changed to Altena, and the territory belonging to it placed in charge of an agent of more experience than his predecessors. The remaining years of Dutch rule on the Delaware derive interest chiefly from an attempt by comers from Maryland to obtain possession of the country through a clever trick; from quarrels between the authorities of the two Dutch colonies brought on by the weakness and folly of the directors of the "City's Colony;" and from difficulties with Maryland which arose out of the Indian question. With the surrender of New Amsterdam in 1664, the Delaware country passed also into English hands.

Historians have hitherto failed to give due weight to the attempt of Sweden to establish this American colony, and to the effect it had upon the fortunes of the West India Company. The expedition of 1655, although politically successful, not only exhausted the ready means of the New Netherland Government, but also plunged it and the Company into debts which never ceased to hamper its movement, and which afterward rendered it impossible to furnish the province a sufficient military protection.

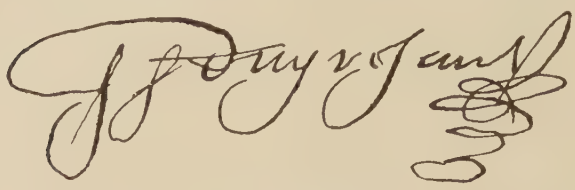
But no less a share in the final result of 1664 is due to the second invasion of the Dutch territory, made about the time when the Swedes first appeared on the Delaware, by Englishmen crossing over from Connecticut to the east end of Long Island. The whole island had been granted by the Plymouth Company to the Earl of Stirling in 1635; and basing their claims on patents issued by Forrest, the Earl's agent in America, the invaders quickly settled in the present County of Suffolk (1640), and resisted all efforts of the Dutch to drive them off. Prejudicial to the Company's interests as these encroachments upon their territory were, they were calculated to call forth all the administrative and diplomatic talents of which Kieft was supposed to be possessed; but unfortunately by his lack of these qualities he con-

trived to lay the colony open to a danger which almost destroyed it. The trade with the interior had led to an intimacy between the Indians and the Dutch which gave the natives many chances to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the habits, strength, and usages of the settlers; while the increased demand for peltries required that the Indians should be supplied with better means to meet that demand. They were consequently given firearms; and when thus put on the same footing with the white inhabitants, Kieft committed the folly of exacting from them a tribute as a return for aiding them in their defence against their enemies by the building of forts and by the maintenance of a military establishment. He even threatened to use forcible measures in cases of non-compliance. The war resulting from this policy lasted until 1645, and seriously impaired the finances of the Company and the development of the colony. Equally arbitrary and devoid of common-sense was Kieft's administration of internal affairs. Before the beginning of the Indian war, upon which he was intent, circumstances compelled him to make a concession to popular rights, which he might use as a cloak to protect himself against censure. He directed that the community at large should elect twelve delegates to consult with the Director and Council on the expediency of going to war, and when fairly launched into the conflict he quickly abolished this advisory board, — the first representative body of New York, — but only to ask for an expression of the public opinion by another board a few months later in 1643. This, at last disgusted with Kieft's tyranny and folly, set to work to have him removed in 1647. The people had not forgotten that in the Netherlands they had been self-governing, and had enjoyed the rights of free municipalities. Although all the minor towns had acquired the same privileges almost at the beginning of their existence, New Amsterdam, the principal place of the colony, was still ruled by the Company through the Director and Council. The opposition which he met from the burghers of this place was the principal cause of his recall.

The relations of New Netherland with its English neighbors during Kieft's administration were in the main the same as under his predecessors. He continued to complain of the grievous wrongs and injuries inflicted upon his people by New Haven, but had no means to do more than complain. The stronger English colonies kept their settlement on the Connecticut, and established another within the territory claimed by the Dutch at Agawam, now Springfield, Mass.

The arrival of the new director-general was celebrated by the inhabitants of New Amsterdam with all the solemnity which circumstances afforded; and they were pleased to hear him announce that he "should be in his government as a father to his children for the advantage of the Company, the country, and the burghers." They had good reasons to be hopeful. Petrus Stuyvesant, the new director, had gathered administrative experience as governor of the Company's Island of Curaçao, and while in Holland on sick leave, in 1645, he had proved his knowledge of New Netherland affairs

by offering acceptable suggestions for the better management of this and the other transatlantic territories of the Company. His views, together with instructions drawn up by the Assembly of the Nineteen for the guidance of the director, were embodied in resolutions and orders for the future government of New Netherland, which revolutionized and liberalized the condition of the colony. It was henceforth to be governed by the Director-General and a Council composed of the vice-director and the fiscal. The right of the people to be heard by the provincial government on the state and condition of the country, through delegates from the various settlements, was confirmed; and the carrying trade between the colony and other countries, which the reform of 1639 had still left in the hands of the Company and of a few privileged persons, was now opened to all, although under certain rather onerous restrictions.



The first few months of the new administration fully justified the hope with which Stuyvesant's arrival had been accompanied. The state in which Kieft had left the public morals compelled Stuyvesant to issue and enforce such orders, that within two months of his assuming the new duties the director of the Patroons' Colony at Albany wrote home: "Mynheer Stuyvesant introduces here a thorough reform." What the state of things must have been may be inferred from Stuyvesant's declaration that "the people are without discipline, and approaching the savage state," while "a fourth part of the city of New Amsterdam consists of rumshops and houses where nothing can be had but beer and tobacco."

Unfortunately for his own reputation and for the good of the colony, he used his energies not solely to make provisions for future good government, but he allowed his feudal notions to embroil him in the quarrels of the late administration, by espousing the cause of Kieft, who had been accused by representatives of the commonalty of malfeasance in office. This grave error induced the home authorities to consider Stuyvesant's recall; but he was finally allowed to remain, and in the end proved the most satisfactory administrator of the province sent out by the Company. It was his and the Company's misfortune that he was appointed when the resources of the Company were gradually diminishing in consequence of the peace with Spain. He was thus constantly hampered by a lack of means; and when the end came, he had only from one hundred and fifty to two hundred soldiers, scattered in four garrisons from the Delaware forts to Fort Orange, to defend the colony against an overwhelming English force.

During the seventeen years of his administration Stuyvesant endeavored to cultivate the friendship of the Indians; and in this he was in the main successful, save that the tribes of the Mohegan nation along the Hudson refused to become as firm friends of the Dutch as their suzerain lords,

the Mohawks, were. While Stuyvesant was absent on the South River, in 1655, to subdue, in obedience to orders from home, the Swedish settlements there, New Amsterdam was invaded by the River Indians and almost destroyed. The Colony and the Company had not yet recovered from the losses sustained by this invasion, nor from the draft made upon their financial resources by the successful expedition against the Swedes, when a few tribes of the same River Indians re-opened the war against the Dutch. They first murdered some individuals of the settlement on the Esopus (now Kingston, Ulster County), and later destroyed it almost completely. With an expense at the time altogether out of proportion to the means of the Government, Stuyvesant succeeded in 1663 in ending this war by destroying the Esopus tribe of Indians.

The negotiations with the New England colonies for a settlement of the boundary and other open questions fall into the earlier part of Stuyvesant's administration. Although he could flatter himself that he had obtained in the treaty of Hartford, 1650, as good terms as he might expect from a power vastly superior to his own, his course only tended to separate the two factions of New Netherland still farther. His espousal of Kieft's cause had, as we have seen, alienated him from the mass of his countrymen, whose anger was now still more aroused when he selected as advisers at Hartford an Englishman resident at New Amsterdam and a Frenchman. He was accused of having betrayed his trust because he had been obliged to surrender the jurisdiction of the Company over the Connecticut territory and the east end of Long Island. Listening to these accusations, coming together as they did with the Kieft affair, the Company increased the difficulties surrounding their director by an order to make Dutch nationality one of the tests of fitness for public employment.

The people had already in Kieft's time loudly called for more liberty, — a desire which Stuyvesant in the strong conservatism of his character was by no means willing to listen to. As, however, liberal principles gained more and more ground among the population, he at last gave his consent to the convocation of a general assembly from the several towns, which was to consider the state of the province. It was too late. The power of the Dutch in New Netherland was waning; Connecticut had been lost in 1650; Westchester at the very door of the Manhattans, and the principal towns of western Long Island were in the hands of the English; and a few months after the first meeting of the delegates the English flag floated over the fort, which had until then been called New Amsterdam.

The magnitude of the commerce of the United Provinces had long been a thorn in the side of the English nation; for years Cato's *Ceterum censeo, Carthaginem esse delendam* had been the burden of political speeches. Differences arising between the two governments, Charles II., only lately the guest of Holland, allowed himself to be persuaded by his chancellor, Shaftesbury, that this commerce would make Holland as great an empire as Rome had been, and this would lead to the utter annihilation of England.

There was apparently no other motive reflecting "honor upon his prudence, activity, and public spirit," to induce him to order the treacherous expedition which seized the territory of an unsuspecting ally.

When the English fleet appeared off the coast of Long Island the Dutch were not at all prepared to offer resistance, their small military force of about two hundred effective men being scattered in detachments over the whole province. Nevertheless Stuyvesant would have let the issue be decided by arms; but the people failed to support him, and insisted upon a surrender, which was accordingly made. They had not forgotten how he had treated their demands for greater liberty, and they expected to be favorably heard by an English government. New Amsterdam, fort and city, as well as the whole province were named by the victors in honor of the new proprietor, the Duke of York; while the region west of the Hudson towards the Delaware, given by the Duke to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, received the name of New Jersey in compliment to the latter's birthplace. Fort Orange and neighborhood became Albany; the Esopus, Kingston, and all reminiscences of Dutch rule, so far as names went, were extinguished, only to be revived less than a decade later.

Although the treaty of Breda, July 21, 1667, had given to Holland (which by it was robbed of her North American territory) the colony of Surinam, the States took advantage of the war brought on by the ambitious designs of England's ally, France, against Holland in 1672, to retake New Netherland in 1673. Again the several towns and districts changed their names,— New York to New Orange; Fort James in New York to Willem Hendrick; Albany to Willemstadt, and the fort there to Fort Nassau, — all in honor of the Prince of Orange. Kingston was called Swanenburg; and New Jersey, Achter Col (behind the Col). During the first few months after the re-conquest the province was governed by the naval commanders and the governor, Anthony Colve, appointed by the States-General. The passionate character of the new governor may have induced the commanders to remain until matters were satisfactorily arranged under the new order of things. The different towns and villages were required to send delegates to New Orange with authority and for the purpose of acknowledging their allegiance to the States-General of Holland. All submitted promptly, with the exception of the five towns of the East Riding of Yorkshire on Long Island, which, however, upon a threat of using force if they would not come with their English colors and constables' staves, also declared their willingness to take the oath of allegiance. A claim upon Long Island, petitions from three of its eastern towns to New England for "protection and government against the Dutch," and an arrogant attempt made by Governor Winthrop of New Haven to lecture Colve, forced the latter into an attitude of war, which resulted in a bloodless rencontre between the Dutch and the English from Connecticut at Southold, Long Island, in March, 1674. "Provisional Instructions" for the government of the province, drawn up by Colve, estranged and annoyed its English

inhabitants, who were declared ineligible for any office if not in communion with the Reformed Protestant Church, in conformity with the Synod of Dort. Therefore, when, after the failure of receiving reinforcements from home, New Netherland was re-surrendered to England (February, 1674), the States-General being

obliged to take this step by the necessity of making European alliances, the English portion of the population were glad to greet (November, 1674) again a government of their own nationality, and the Dutch had to submit with the best possible grace.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

OUR sources for the history of New Netherland are principally the official records of the time, which must be considered under two heads: the records of the governments in Europe which directly or indirectly were interested in this part of the world; and the documents of the provincial government, handed down from secretary to secretary, and now carefully preserved in the archives of the State of New York. Of the former we have copies, the procuring of which by the State was one of the epoch-making events in the annals of historiography. A society, formed in 1804[1] in the city of New York for the principal purpose of "collecting and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical history of the United States in general and the State of New York in particular," having memorialized the State Legislature on the subject, a translation was ordered and made of the Dutch records in the office of the Secretary of State. This translation — of which more hereafter — undoubtedly threw light upon the historical value and importance of the State archives, but proved also their incompleteness; and another memorial by the same society induced the Legislature of 1839 to authorize the appointment of an agent who should procure from the archives of Europe the material to fill the gaps. Mr. John Romeyn Brodhead, who by a residence of two years at the Hague as Secretary of the American Legation seemed to be specially fitted for, and was already to some extent familiar with, the duties expected from him, was appointed such an agent in 1841, and after four years of diligent search and labor returned with eighty volumes of manuscript copies of documents procured in Holland, France, and England, which were published under his own and Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan's supervision[2] as *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, eleven volumes quarto, including index volume. The

[1] [This was the origin of the New York Historical Society, which held its first organized meeting in January, 1805, and occupied its present building for the first time in 1857. (*Historical Magazine*, i. 23, 369; *Public Libraries of the United States* [1876], i. 924.) It was at this dedication that Dr. John W. Francis delivered his genial and anecdotal discourse on *New York in the last Fifty Years*.

Some good supplemental work has been done by the local historical societies, like the Long Island (*Historical Magazine*, viii. 187), Ulster County, and Buffalo societies. — ED.]

[2] [Dr. O'Callaghan made the translations from the Dutch and French, and had the general superintendence. Brodhead prepared the Introduction, giving the history of the records. Brodhead made his first report on his work in

historical value of these documents, which the State procured at an expense of about fourteen thousand dollars, can not be estimated too highly. When made accessible to the public, they removed the reproach that "New York was probably the only commonwealth whose founders had been covered with ridicule" by one of her sons, by showing that the endurance, courage, and love of liberty evinced by her first settlers deserved a better monument than *Knickerbocker's History of New York*.[1]

Mr. Brodhead was unfortunately too late by twenty years to obtain copies of the records of the East and West India companies; for what would have proved a rich mine of historical information had been sold as waste paper at public auction in 1821. These lost records would have told us what the Dutch of 1608–1609 knew of our continent; how Hudson came to look for a northwest passage under the fortieth degree of north latitude; and how, where, and when the first settlements were made on the Hudson and Delaware, — information which they certainly must have contained, for the States-General referred the English ambassador, in a letter of Dec. 30, 1664, to the "very perfect registers, relations, and journals of the West India Company, provided with all the requisite verifications respecting everything that ever occurred in those countries" (New Netherland). We cannot glean this information from the records of the provincial government, consisting of the register of the provincial secretary, the minutes of council, letter-books, and land papers, for they begin only in 1638, a few land patents of 1630, 1631, and 1636 excepted. Even what we have of these is not complete, all letters prior to 1646 and council minutes for nearly four years having been lost. Where these missing parts may have strayed, it is hard to say. Article 12 of the "Capitulation on the Reduction of New Netherland, subscribed at the Governor's Bouwery, August 27, O. S., 1664," insured the careful preservation of the archives of the Dutch government by the English conquerors. In June, 1688, they were still in the Secretary's office at New York; a few months later "Edward Randolph, then Secretary of ye Dominion of New England, carried away [to Boston] ye severall Bookes before Exprest," says a Report of commissioners appointed by the Committee of Safety of New York to examine the books, etc., in the Secretary's office, dated Sept. 23, 1689.[2] Why he carried them off, the minutes of the proceedings against Leisler would probably disclose, if found. They remained in Boston until 1691, when Governor Sloughter, of New York, had them brought back. Comparing the inventory of June, 1688 (which states that there were found in "Presse no. 3 a parcell of old Dutch Records and

1845 (Senate Documents, no. 47, of 1845), after he had arranged and indexed his eighty volumes, also in an address before the New York Historical Society, 1844, printed in their *Proceedings*. This led to the arranging and binding of two hundred volumes of the domestic archives, which had been in disorder. The eighty volumes above named were divided thus: —

Sixteen, 1603–1678, obtained in Holland; forty-seven, 1614–1678, procured in England; seventeen, 1631–1763, secured in Paris. Brodhead's *New York*, i. 759; *Westminster Review*, new series, iii. 607.

Asher, *Essay*, p. xlviii, says of Brodhead's mission: "We must, however, regret that, tied down by his instructions, he took a somewhat narrow view of his search, and purposely omitted from his collection a vast store of documents bearing on the history of the West India Company."

The documents as published were divided thus: Vol. i. Holland documents, 1603–1656. Vol. ii. Ibid., 1657–1678. Vol. iii. London documents, 1614–1692. Vol. iv. Ibid., 1693–1706. Vol. v. Ibid., 1707–1733. Vol. vi. Ibid., 1734–1755. Vol. vii. Ibid., 1756–1767. Vol. viii. Ibid., 1768–1782. Vol. ix. Paris documents, 1631–1744. Vol. x. Ibid., 1745–1774.

In the Introduction to vol. iii. Mr. Brodhead gives an account of the condition of the English State-Paper Office in 1843. — Ed.]

[1] [The discourse (1847) of C. F. Hoffman on "The Pioneers of New York," institutes a comparison with the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Mr. Fernow's paper in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, v. 214, discusses the claims of the Dutch to be considered as having educated people among them, and the various legislative acts indicating their tolerant spirit are enumerated in *Historical Magazine*, iii. 312.

See Dr. De Witt's paper on the origin of the early settlers in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 72. Various notices of the early families are scattered through O'Callaghan's notes to his *New Netherland*, and embodied in the local histories; but genealogy has never been so favorite a study in New York as in New England. — Ed.]

[2] *N. Y. Coll. MSS.*, xxxvi. 13.

bundles of Papers, all Being marked and numbred as y^ey^ Lay now in the said presse,"[1] which, to judge from the number of books in the other presses, must have been large) with an inventory and examination of the Dutch records made in June, 1753, under the supervision of the commissioners appointed by an act of the General Assembly to examine the eastern boundaries of the province, I come to the conclusion that the missing Dutch and English records were lost either in their wanderings between New York and Boston, or during the brief Dutch interregnum of 1673–74,[2] or perhaps in the fire which consumed Fort George in New York on the 18th of April, 1741, although Governor Clarke informs the Board of Trade that "most of the records were saved and I hope very few lost, for I took all the possible care of them, and had all removed before the office took fire." The inventory of 1753 shows that up to the present day nothing has since been lost, with the exception of a missing account-book and of some things which time has made illegible and of others which the knife of the autograph-hunter has cut out. It is difficult to say how much has gone through the latter unscrupulous method into the hands of private parties. The catalogues of collections of autographs sold at auction occasionally show papers which seem to have belonged to the State archives, but it is impossible to prove that they came thence. An examination, hurriedly made a few years ago, of the 103 volumes of Colonial Manuscripts of New York, showed that about three hundred documents had been stolen since Dr. O'Callaghan published in 1866 the *Calendar*[3] of these manuscripts. The then Secretary of State, Mr. John Bigelow, published the list of missing documents, calling upon the parties in possession of any of them to return the property of the State; and a month later he had the gratification of receiving a package containing about sixty, of which, however, only twenty were mentioned in the published list, while the loss of the others had not then been discovered. A thorough examination would probably bring the number of missing or mutilated papers to nearly one thousand. It is equally remarkable and fortunate, that during the war of the Revolution the records became an object of solicitude both to the royal Governor and the Provincial Congress. The latter, fearing that the destruction of the records would "unhinge the property of numbers in the colony, and throw all legal proceedings into the most fatal confusion," requested, Sept. 2, 1775, Secretary Bayard, whose ancestor, Nicolas Bayard, also had them in charge when the English retook New York in 1674, to deposit them in some safe place. Bayard, struggling between his duties as a royal officer and his sympathies as a born American, hesitated to take the papers in his charge from the place appointed for their keeping, but packed them nevertheless in boxes to be ready for immediate removal. Sears's *coup de main* in November, 1775, and the intimation that he intended speedily to return with a larger body of "Connecticut Rioters" to take away the records of the province, induced Governor Tryon to remove "such public records as were most interesting to the Crown" on board of the "Dutchess of Gordon" man-of-war, to which he himself had fled for safety. When called upon, Feb. 7, 1776, by order of the Provincial Congress, to surrender them, he offered to place them on board a vessel, specially to be chartered for that purpose, which was to remain in the harbor. He pledged his honor that they should not be injured by the King's forces, but refused to land them anywhere, because they could not be taken to a place safer than where they were. "Shortly afterwards," he writes to Lord Germain in March, 1779, "the public records were for greater security (the Rebels threatening to board in the night and take the vessel) put on board the 'Asia,' under the care of Captain Vandeput. The 'Asia' being ordered home soon after the taking of New

[1] *N. Y. Coll. MSS.*, xxxv. 162.

[2] Governor Ingoldsby to Lords of Trade, July 5, 1709: "I am well informed that when the Dutch took this place from us, several books of records of patents and other things were lost." — *N. Y. Coll. Doc's*, v. 83.

[3] [*Calendar of Historical MSS. in the Secretary of State's Office* (Dutch), 1630–1664, Albany, 1865; and Ibid. (English), 1664–1776, Albany, 1866. On p. ix of the last is given a list of the papers and volumes formerly in the offices of the Secretary of State and Comptroller, now in the State Library. There was also printed at Albany, in 1864, a *Calendar of the New York Colonial MSS. and Land Papers*, 1643–1803, in the Secretary of State's office. — Ed.]

York, Captain Vandeput desired me to inform him what he should do with the two boxes of public records. I recommended them to be placed on board the 'Eagle' man-of-war." The records not "most interesting to the Crown" (most likely including the Dutch records) were taken with Secretary Bayard to his father's house in the "Out Ward of New York," where a detachment of forty-eight men of the First New York City Regiment, later of Captain Alexander Hamilton's Artillery Company, was detailed to guard them. In June of the same year, 1776, they were removed to the seat of government at Kingston, N. Y. Almost a year later two hundred men were raised for the special duty of guarding them, and when the enemy approached Kingston this body conveyed them to a small place in the interior (Rochester, Ulster County), whence they were returned to Kingston in November, 1777. From that date they followed the legislature and executive offices to New York in 1783, and finally in 1798 to Albany, where they have since remained. In New York the records which were carried off by Governor Tryon, and had been in the mean time transferred from the "Eagle" to the "Warwick" man-of-war and then returned to the city in 1781, were again placed with the others. At the instance of the New York Historical Society, the Dutch part of the State records were ordered to be translated; and this duty was entrusted by Governor De Witt Clinton to Dr. Francis A. van der Kemp, a learned Hollander, whom the political dissensions in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century had driven from his home. Unfortunately, Dr. van der Kemp's knowledge of the English tongue was not quite equal to the task; nor was his eyesight, as he himself confesses in a marginal note to a passage dimmed by age, strong enough to decipher such papers as had suffered from the ravages of time and become almost illegible. This translation, completed in 1822, is therefore in many instances incorrect and incomplete; grave mistakes have been the consequence, much to the annoyance of historical students. Some of the errors were corrected by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, who published in 1849–54, under the authority of the State, four volumes of *Documents relating to the History of the Colony* (1604–1799), selected at random from the copies procured abroad, from the State archives, and from other sources. In 1876 the Hon. John Bigelow, Secretary of State, directed the writer of this paper to translate and prepare a volume of documents relating to the Delaware colony, which was published in 1877; another volume, containing the records of the early settlements in the Hudson and Mohawk River valleys, translated by the writer, followed in 1881; this year will see a third, on the settlements on Long Island; and a fourth, to be published later, will contain the documents relating to New York city and the relations between the Dutch and the neighboring English colonies. These four volumes contain everything of a general and public interest, so that the parts not translated anew will refer only to personal matters.

These being the official sources of information for the history of New Netherland, it is proper to inquire whether they are trustworthy beyond doubt. The charge made by Robert Thorne, of Bristol, in 1527,[1] against the "Portingals," of having "falsified their records of late purposely," might be repeated against the Dutch wherever the claim of first discovery of the country is discussed.

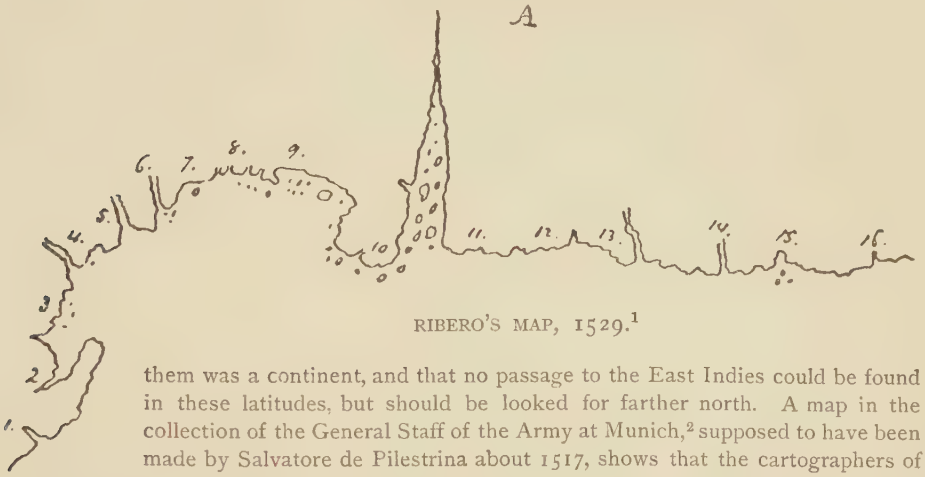
I have already stated that one of the motives, and perhaps the principal one, for establishing the West India Company was of a political nature. The destruction of Spain's financial resources was to lead to an honorable and satisfactory peace with Holland. Spain relied for the sinews of war on its American colonies; and we must inquire how much of the information relating to location and extent of these colonies had reached the Dutch notwithstanding the Spanish efforts to suppress it.

Hakluyt says:[2] "The first discovery of these coasts (never heard of before) was well begun by John Cabot and Sebastian his son, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the Cape of Florida unto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland, or which they brought and annexed to the Crown of England [1497]."

[1] See Hakluyt, i. 218.

[2] Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, etc.*, iii. 155, London, 1600.

I will not assert that the Cabots actually saw and explored the whole coast from Florida to Newfoundland, but they must have brought away the impression that the land seen by



RIBERO'S MAP, 1529.[1]

them was a continent, and that no passage to the East Indies could be found in these latitudes, but should be looked for farther north. A map in the collection of the General Staff of the Army at Munich,[2] supposed to have been made by Salvatore de Pilestrina about 1517, shows that the cartographers of

[1] [This is a section of the Carta Universal of the Spanish cosmographer, Diego Ribero. It needs the following key: —

1. R. de St. iago.
2. C. de Arenas (Sandy Cape).
3. B. de S. Xpō-al.
4. B. de S. Atonio.
5. Mōtana Vde.
6. R. de buena madre.
7. S. Juā Baptista.
8. Arciepielago de Estevā Gomez.
9. Mōtanas.
10. C. de muchas yllas.
11. Arecifes (reefs).
12. Medanos (sand-hills).
13. Golfo.
14. R. de Mōtanas.
15. Sarçales (brambles).
16. R. de la Buelta (river of return).

A. "Tiera de Estevā Gomez, la qual descrubrio por mandado de su magt el año de 1525: ay en ella muchos arboles y fructas de los de españa y muchos rodovallos y Salmones y sollos: no han alla do oro."

The map, which is described more fully in another volume, has been the theme of much controversy, it being usually held to be the result of Gomez's explorations; but this is denied by Stevens. References upon it by the Editor will be found in the Ticknor *Catalogue*, published by the Boston Public Library. It is of interest in the present connection as being one of the current charts of the coast, though made eighty years earlier, which Hudson could and did take with him. How he interpreted it is not known. In our day there is much diverse opinion upon its points. Mr. Murphy, for instance, in his *Voyage of Verrazzano*, puts the Hudson River at 5, and Cape Cod at 10. Sprengel, who published a memoir on this map in 1795, thought Hudson's river was the one between 10 and 11. Asher, in his *Henry Hudson*, p. xciii, takes the same view. Kohl, in his *Discovery of Maine*, p. 304, and in his *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von America*, p. 43, makes the river between 10 and 11 the Penobscot, and the hook near 2 Cape Cod, though he acknowledges some objections to this interpretation of the latter landmark, because the names between 2 and 8 are those that in later maps are given to the New Netherland coast. It seems to the Editor, however, as it does to Kohl, that Ribero had fallen into a confusion of misplacing names, common to early map-makers, and that we cannot keep the names right and accept the strange geographical correspondences which, for instance, Dr. De Costa imposes on the map in his *Verrazano the Explorer*, when he makes the hook near 2 to be Sandy Hook, at New York Bay, and the bay between 10 and 11 the Penobscot, which he thinks "clearly defined," while "Ribero gives no hint of the region now embraced by Long Island, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts." It is difficult to accept Dr. De Costa's "wildly exaggerated" Sandy Hook, or his notion of "Dr. Kohl's confusion" in regarding the great gulf of these early maps, shown between 2 and 10, as the Gulf of Maine. With all the difficulties attending Kohl's interpretation, it presents fewer anomalies than any other. There is so much uncertainty at the best in the interpretation of these early maps, that any understanding is subject to change from the developments now making in the study of this early cartography. — ED.]

[2] Kunstmann, *Monumenta Sæcularia*, iii. 2; *Entdeckungsgeschichte Americas*, Munich, 1859, Atlas, tab. iv.

that period had accepted this Cabot theory as a fact. The voyage of Esteban Gomez in 1524, sent out "to find a way to Cathay" between Florida and the Baccalaos,[1] resulted only in discovering "mucha tierra, continuada con la que se llama de los Baccalaos, discurriendo al *Occidente y puesta en XL. grados y XLI.*"[2]

The next voyage along the coast of North America, made in 1526 by Lucas Vasquez de Aillon and Matienzo, must be considered of importance for the cartography of the first half of the sixteenth century; for their discoveries, although of no direct benefit to them or to Spain, proved to Spanish map-makers and their imitators that North America was not, like the West Indies, an archipelago of islands, but a continent. Even though Ramusio, in the preface to vol. iii. of his work, published in 1556, declares it is not yet known whether New France is connected with Florida or is an island, the maps made shortly after Aillon's voyage[3] show that the cartographers had decided the matter in *their* minds.

This knowledge was not confined to the map-makers and officials, who might have been forbidden to divulge such information. A contemporary writer says, in 1575:—

"La forme donc de la Floride est en peninsule et come triangulaire, ayant la mer qui la baigne de tous costez sauf vers le Septentrion. . . . Au Septentrion luy sont Hochelaga [Canada] et autres terres. . . . Or ce pays Floridien commence à la grande rivière, que les mondernes ont appelé de St. Jean [Cape Fear River?], qui le separe du pays de Norumbeg en la nouvelle France."[4]

And I refer further to the divers *Descriptiones Ptolemaicæ*[5] published during the sixteenth century, — books accessible to the public of that day, and most likely known to and read by every navigator of the Atlantic.

To bring this information still nearer home to Henry Hudson, I mention the map made by Thomas Hood, an Englishman, in 1592,[6] and the work of Peter Plancius, published in 1594.[7] Hudson, an English navigator, could hardly have been ignorant of his countryman's production, which shows under 40° north latitude the mouth of a river called Rio de San Antonio, the name given to Hudson's River by the earlier Spanish discoverers. Before starting on his voyage in the "Half Moon," Hudson had been in consultation with Dr. Peter Plancius, who adds to his chapter on "Norumberga et Virginia" a map, incorrect, it is true, as to latitudes and other details, but nevertheless showing an unbroken coast-line. When, therefore, it is stated that Hudson abandoned the plan of seeking for a northeast passage, in the hope of finding, under 40° north latitude, a passage to the Western Ocean, as advised by his friends Captain John Smith, of Virginia, and Dr. Plancius, we are asked to accept as true a statement made and spread about for political purposes. These will be understood when we recall the motives for the establishment of the West India Company, — a project in which Plancius, a minister of the Reformed

[1] Peter Martyr, seventh decade, tenth chapter.

[2] Oviedo, *Relacion sumaria de la Historia Natural de las Indias*, edition of 1526, x. 16. "While sailing westward, much land adjoining that which is called the Baccalaos [Newfoundland], and situate under the fortieth and forty-first degrees."

[3] *Mappa Mundi* of Diego Ribero, 1529, given by Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age;* two undated maps by unknown makers, about 1532-1540, in the Munich collection, Kunstmann's *Atlas*, tab. vi., vii.; the globe *Regiones orbis terrarum, quas Euphr. Ulpius descripsit anno MDXLII.;* the map in the *Isolario*, by Benedetto Bordone, Vinegia, 1547; a map by Baptista Agnese, made in 1554, mentioned by Abbate D. Placido Zurla in *Sulle Antiche Mappe Idro geografiche lavorate in Venezia;* map of Vaz Dourado, the original of which, made in 1571, is in the archives at Lisbon, and a copy made in 1580 at Munich (Kunstmann, *Atlas*, tab. x.); map in the *Cosmographie* of Seb. Munster, Basel, 1574; and others.

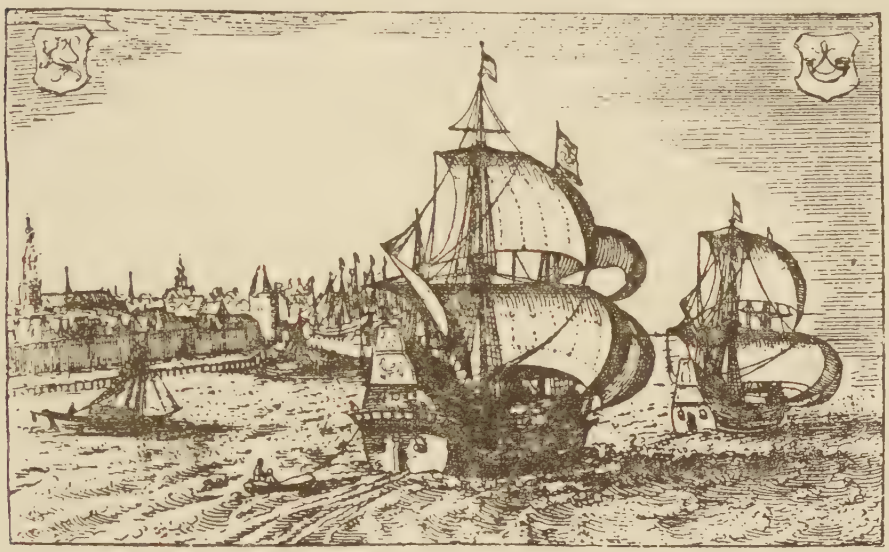
[4] François de Belle Forest, Comingeois, *La Cosmographie Universelle de tout le Monde*, Paris, 1575, ii. 2195.

[5] [The bibliography of the Ptolemies is examined in another part of this work. — Ed.]

[6] Kunstmann, *Atlas*, tab. xii. [A section of Hood's map is given in Dr. De Costa's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.] See also Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*, 15.[2]

[7] *Orbis Terrarum Typus de Integro multis in locis emendatus, auctore Petro Plancio*, 1594, reproduced in Linschoten's *Histoire de la Navigation*, 1638 and 1644. Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 312; Quaritch (1879), no. 12,186. See also *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum, Cornelio Wytfliet auctore*, Duaci (Douay), 1603, p. 99.

Church, and as such driven from his Belgian home by the Spaniards, gave his hearty and active co-operation to Usselinx. International law gave possession for his sovereign to any one who discovered a new land not formerly claimed by any Christian prince or inhabited by any Christian nation. To have a base for their operations in America against Spain, Holland required territory not so claimed, and the shrewd projectors undoubtedly deemed it most advisable to establish this base not only in an unclaimed but also in a hitherto unknown country. Therefore it was necessary to claim for Hudson the discovery of the river bearing his name, as the West India Company did in 1634,[1] although a few years



DUTCH VESSELS, 1618.[2]

before, in 1632, they had admitted by inference[3] that Hudson's River was known to other nations under the name of Rio de Montañas, and of Rio de Montaigne, before Hudson saw it.[4] In the following decade the statement of 1634 was forgotten, and the company in 1644 claimed title by the first discovery of the Hudson and Delaware rivers, through ships of the Greenland Company in 1598.[5] Still later, in 1659, by the mouth of their diplomatic agents in Maryland and Virginia, it is asserted that Holland derived its title to New Netherland through Spain as "first discoverer and founder of that New World," and through the French, who, by one Jehan de Verrazano[6] a Florentine, were in 1524 the second followers and discoverers in the northern parts of America.[7] Falsification in politics was evidently then, as it is now, a venial sin; the statements made for political purposes, although emanating from official sources, must, therefore, be accepted with due caution.[8]

[1] *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, i. 94.

[2] This cut is a fac-simile of one in the title of Schouten's *Journal*, Amsterdam, 1618. See *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 87.

[3] *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, i. 51.

[4] [See on the first mention of Hudson River, *Magazine of American History*, July, 1882, p. 513. It had about twenty names in a century and a half. Ibid., iv. 404, June, 1880. De Costa, in Hudson's *Sailing Directions*, elucidates the claims for the Spanish discovery. — Ed.]

[5] *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, i. 139.

[6] [Verrazano's discoveries are followed in chapter i. of the present volume.— Ed.]

[7] *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, ii. 80.

[8] [It is often claimed that the map of Lok (see page 40 of Vol. III.) showing the Western Sea of Verrazano, and published in 1582, instigated Hudson to make search for it along the shore of New Netherland. Hudson's voyage of 1609 is known as his third voyage. (Cf. a note to Mr Smith's chapter in Vol. III. on "Ex-

As the history of New Netherland is closely connected with that of the West India Company, and as the West India Company was one of the great political factors in the United Provinces, the Dutch State-Papers [1] and the writings of contemporaneous authors [2] must be duly considered by the student of this period of our history.

Most prominent among contemporaneous writers is Willem Usselinx, the originator of the Dutch West India and Swedish South Companies, even though his writings have not always a direct bearing upon the history of New Netherland. We know little of the life of this remarkable man, beyond the facts that he was a native of Belgium and a merchant at Antwerp, whom the political and religious troubles of the period had compelled to leave his fatherland and to seek refuge in Holland; that, inspired by hatred against Spain, he conceived the plan of the West India Company; that for some unexplained reason the West India Company lost his services, which were then, about 1626, offered to King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in the establishment of the South Company.[3] As Usselinx chiefly wrote before the West India Company was organized, and as its advocate, his books and pamphlets, instead of being historical, are of a more or less polemical character. He never forgets what he had to suffer through Spain, and points out constantly how important to Holland is the commerce of the West Indies, and that in their peace negotiations with Spain the States-General must by all means preserve the freedom of trading

plorations to the Northwest.") The question of the impelling cause of this voyage is examined by Bancroft in his *United States*, vol. ii. chap. 15; by H. C. Murphy in his *Henry Hudson in Holland*, Hague, 1859; and by J. M. Read, in his *Henry Hudson, his Friends, Relatives, and Early Life*, Albany, 1866, which last work has an appendix of original sources.

The old narrative of Ivan Bardsen, which it is supposed was used by Hudson as a guide, is given in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*, in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, in the appendix of Asher's *Hudson*, and the English of it is given in De Costa's *Sailing Directions of Hudson* (reviewed in the *Historical Magazine*, 1870, p. 204), which is accompanied by a dissertation on the discovery of Hudson River. Cf. also Major's Introduction to the *Zeni Voyages*, published by the Hakluyt Society.

Moulton, in his *New York*, gives a running commentary on Hudson's passage up the river. See also the conclusions of Gay in the *Popular History of the United States*, i. 355. We learn the most of this voyage from Purchas's *Pilgrimes* (also *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1809, vol. i.), whose third volume contains the accounts by Hudson and his companions; and in the *Pilgrimage* there is a chapter on "Hudson's Discoveries and Death," which is mainly a summary of the documents in the *Pilgrimes*. This is reprinted by Asher in his *Henry Hudson the Navigator* (Hakluyt Society), where will also be found, page 45, what is known as Juet's Journal, March–November, 1609 (also in Purchas, iii. 581; Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, and in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 317; also cf. ii. 367), with extracts from Lambrechtsen's *New Netherland*, who used material not otherwise known, and from De Laet's *Nieuwe Wereld*, and in the Appendix a bibliography of the voyage. De Laet used Hudson's own journals (April 19, 1607–June 21, 1611), which are not now known and what De Laet gives of the third voyage is supposed to be Hudson's own report. Asher, p. 167–172, claims that the matter given by Van der Donck and not found elsewhere was fabricated to support the Dutch claim. The controversial papers of Dawson and Whitehead, in the *Historical Magazine*, 1870, touch many of the points of Hudson's explorations. Brodhead's *New York* and O'Callaghan's *New Netherland* give careful studies of this voyage. The latest developments, however, did not serve Biddle in his *Cabot;* nor Belknap in his *American Biography;* nor R. H. Cleveland in Sparks's *American Biography;* nor Miller in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1810. The chief Dutch authority is Emanuel van Meteren, of whose work mention is made later in the text. (Cf. Asher's *Hudson*, p. xxv; compare also a *Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company*, London, 1703, p. 71.) — Ed.]

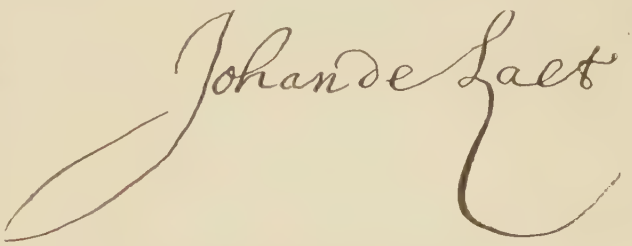
[1] See G. M. Asher's *Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland*, Amsterdam, 1854–67. The *Vryheden* of the West India Company, 1630, a sort of primary charter to the colonists of New Netherland, is given in English by Dr. O'Callaghan (*New Netherland*, p. 112), and in Dutch in Wassenaer, *Hist. Verhael*, xviii. 194. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 367, shows an original copy.

[2] Ibid.; also manuscript in the possession of Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, *Advice to establish a new South Company*, by William Usselinx, 1636, and *West-Indische Spieghel* by Athanasius Inga, of Peru, 1624, probably a work of Usselinx's. One copy is in Mr. Brevoort's library, one in New York State Library, and a third in the Carter-Brown Collection. See the *Catalogue* of the latter collection, ii. no. 296.

[3] [See the following chapter. — Ed.]

to America. These writings date from before Hudson's voyage in 1609, and Usselinx disappears from the list of writers after the publication of the patent granted by Sweden to the South Company in 1627, unless we admit the above-quoted *West-Indische Spieghel* to be his work. Asher, in his *Bibliographical Essay*, gives as the latest of his works the *Argonautica Gustaviana*,[1] and had evidently no knowledge of the *Advice to Establish a new South Company*, written by Usselinx in 1636.

The next writer to be considered had exceptional facilities in gathering his material. As director of the West India Company, Johannes de Laet[2] had of course ready access to the records, while as co-patroon of Rensselaerswyck he had an especial interest in the country where his daughter and son-in-law[3] had made their home. Two manuscript volumes in folio, written by De Laet himself, and now in the collection of Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, give us an idea of the painstaking diligence with which De Laet collected the matter of the books which he intended to write. These two volumes contain no material relating specially to New Netherland, but he made undoubtedly as extensive preparations for the chapter on the Dutch colony in North America in his *Nieuwe Wereld*,[4] as he had made for the others, by copying from the most authentic works on the subject, by talking with seafarers returned from the transatlantic colony, and by transcribing letters from private persons residing there. His intention to give to his fellow-citizens as perfect a description of the New World as circumstances would allow, was carefully carried out. It would have been difficult to produce anything better at the time when he wrote; and we must accept this book as the standard work on New Netherland of the seventeenth century, even though he makes in the book, as well as on its accompanying map, a few slight errors; saying, for instance, that "Manhattan Island is separated from the mainland by the Hell-gate," or that "Fort Orange stood [at the time of his writing, 1625] on an island close to the left [western] shore of [Hudson's] river." The title of De Laet's next work[5] is very



[1] [This work is now rare; but copies are in the Congressional, Harvard College, Carter-Brown, Murphy, and Lenox libraries. See Asher's *Essay*, pp. 83, 93. — Ed.]

[2] Born at Antwerp in 1582; died at Amsterdam, 1649.

[3] Johan de Hulter, one of the earliest settlers of Kingston, N. Y. His widow married Jeronimus Ebbingh, of Kingston.

[4] *Nieuwe Wereld ofte Beschrijvinghe van West Indien, uijt veelerhande Schriften ende Aenteekeningen bij een versamelt door Joannes de Laet*, Leyden, 1625, — "The New World, or Description of West Indies, from several MSS and notes collected by J. de Laet." A second edition in Dutch appeared, with slightly changed title, in 1630; a third in Latin, — *Novus Orbis, seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis Libri xviii.*, — was published in 1633; and a fourth in French, entitled *Histoire du Nouveau Monde, ou Description des Indes Occidentales*, in 1640. The State Library at Albany, N. Y., has copies of all except the first, and all are noted in the O'Callaghan and Carter-Brown *Catalogues*. [A copy of the 1625 edition was priced by Muller in 1872 at ten florins. There is a copy in Charles Deane's library. The 1630 edition, called "verbetert, vermeerdert, met eenige nieuwe Caerten verciert," has fourteen maps, engraved chiefly by Hessel Gerritsz, and good copies are worth about six to eight guineas. The 1633 edition was priced by Rich in 1832 at one pound ten shillings, but a good copy of it will now bring about five guineas. The 1640 edition has appreciated in the same time from one pound four shillings (Rich, in 1832) to two guineas. Translations of such parts as pertain to New Netherland are in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, new series, i. 281, and ii. 373. Brodhead, in 1841, tried in vain in Holland to find De Laet's papers. De Laet's library was sold April 27, 1650. There is a catalogue of it noted in the *Huth Catalogue*, ii. 414. — Ed.]

[5] *Historie ofte Jaerlijck Verhael van de Verrichtingen van de Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie sedert haer Begin tot* 1636, — "History or Yearly Account of the Proceedings of the West India Company, from its beginning to 1636," anno 1644. Copy in State Library, Albany. Trömel, no. 198. [For the history of the

misleading, for one would naturally expect to find the history of the first settlement on the soil of New York in all its details;[1] but the name of New Netherland is only mentioned, as it were, by accident. Still the book has its value for the student of the philosophy of American history, for in the preface the author frankly admits that the object of the West India Company was war on Spain, and he congratulates the country upon the successes so far obtained; and he further shows how the Company, organized for warlike purposes, could not give any attention to a country which, under the circumstances, required the utmost care for its profitable development. Considering that De Laet was personally interested in New Netherland as co-patroon of Rensselaerswyck and through the marriage of his daughter to an inhabitant of the province, it is astonishing to find so little said by him of the actual occurrences there. It may be that reasons of policy and prudence restrained him from baring to the public eye many things for which the Company could be called to account. The new race, however, with which his countrymen had come in contact, had sufficiently excited his interest to induce him to study their habits and speculate upon their origin, so that when the learned Grotius published a treatise on the American Indians,[2] De Laet rushed into the field combating Grotius's theories.

While De Laet reports the events in New Netherland up to a given date as a member of the Government saw them, we have two authors before whose eyes some of these events took place, and who in writing about them criticise them in the manner of subjects and citizens. To the first of these, David Pietersen de Vries, *Artillerie-Meester van d' Noorder Quartier*, Mr. Bancroft gives the credit of being the founder of the State of Delaware.[3] How far the abortive attempt of establishing the colony of Zwaendael, mentioned in the narrative, and the voyage bringing over the colonists may be called "the cradling of a state," I leave others to decide. De Vries published in 1655 an account of his voyages[4] made twenty years before, and tells us in his book, in the most

Dutch West India Company, see O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, vol. i. (its charter is given, p. 399); and a valuable contribution to the subject is also contained in Asher's *Essay*, in the sketch of the Company in his Introduction, p. xiv and in the section on the Company's history, p. 40, and on the writings of Usselinx, p. 73. He says the best history of its fortunes is in Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil*. There is also much of importance in T. C. de Jonge's *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch Zeewesen*, 1833–48, six volumes. The flag of the West India Company is depicted in Valentine's *New York City Manual*, 1863, in connection with an abstract of a paper on "The Flags which have waved over New York City," by Dr. A. K. Gardner. — ED.]

[1] [The letter of Rasieres, printed in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 339, gives us a notice of the country in 1627. — ED.]

[2] *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*, Paris, 1643.

[3] Bancroft, *History of the United States*, ii. 281: "The voyage of De Vries was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to the colony of De Vries." Cf. *Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting of the Historical Society of Delaware*, May 31, 1864; J. W. Beekman in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 86; Delaware Papers, p. 335 of *Calendar of Historical MSS. in the State Library* (Dutch) *at Albany*, edited by Dr. O'Callaghan, 1865, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vol. xii., 1877. — ED.]

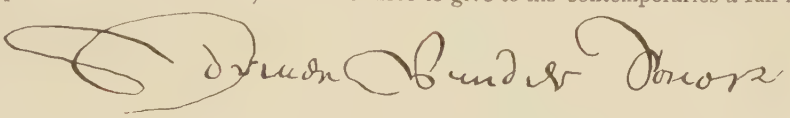
[4] *Korte Historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge van verscheyden Voyagien in de vier Teelen des Wereldts Ronde, door David Pietersen de Vries*, Alkmaar, 1655, — "Short History and Notes of a Journal kept during Several Voyages by D. P. de Vries."

Hen. C. Murphy
James Lenox
New York December 1853.

[This extremely rare book was first used by Brodhead (i. 381, note). It should have a portrait by Cornelius Visscher, which has been reproduced in Amsterdam by photolithography. Mr. Lenox paid $300 for the copy noted in Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,615. There are also copies in the Carter-Brown (ii. 803) and Murphy collections, and one was sold in the Brinley sale, no. 2,717; cf. Asher, no. 336; Trömel, no. 279; Muller (1872), no. 1,109, and (1877) no. 3,414, 240 florins, not quite perfect; Huth, ii. 424;

unvarnished manner and with the bluntness of a sailor, how badly New Netherland was being governed under the administration of Minuit and Van Twiller. No doubt as to the veracity of his statements can be entertained, as in his case there could be no motive for "divagation." He views the loss of his Delaware colony with the proverbial equanimity both of a Dutchman and of a sailor, and stands so far above the coarseness of manners and life in his time, that he considers officials addicted to drink not much better than criminals. Where he speaks of matters not seen by himself, and of the Indians and their mode of life, he follows closely the best authority to be found; namely, the work of Domine Johannis Megapolensis.

The other author, Jonker[1] Adrian van der Donck, Doctor of Laws and Advocate of the Supreme Court of Holland, has done more to give to his contemporaries a full knowl-



edge of the country of his adoption, and to implant in the country itself better institutions, than any other man. Sent over in 1642 as Schout (sheriff) of the Patroons' Colony of Rensselaerswyck, he in 1647 left this service in consequence of a quarrel with the vice-director, and purchased from the Indians the colony of Colen Donck, now Yonkers, for which he received a patent in 1648.[2] A controversy arose about this time between the Government and several colonists, among whom was Van der Donck, which led to a remonstrance being drawn up, to be laid before the States-General for a redress of certain grievances which they had so far failed to obtain either from the provincial governor or the West India Company.[3] It is a contemporaneous relation of events in New Netherland signed by eleven residents of New Amsterdam. Its probable author was Van der Donck; at least his original journal was the source from which this "Remonstrance" was derived. The form in which Governor Stuyvesant seized it[4] is, however, different from the one in which it was published. In the latter it is divided in three parts: 1. A description of the natives and of the physical features of the country; 2. Events connected with the earliest settlements of the country; 3. Remonstrance against the policy of the West India

O'Callaghan, no. 778. Extracts from the book were translated in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 243; and all the parts relating to America by H. C. Murphy, in Ibid., iii. 9; and this translation, with an Introduction, was privately reprinted by Mr. Lenox (250 copies), in 1853.

[1] Title of the lowest grade of nobility in Holland.

[2] Hon. Jer. Johnson, in the preface to his translation of Van der Donck (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1841), says "Van Rensselaer had arrived five years before Van der Donck." This is an error. Kilian van Rensselaer, the first patroon, was never in America; and when by his death, 1646, the title to Rensselaerswyck devolved upon his infant son Johannes, the child's paternal uncle, Johann Baptist van Rensselaer, undertook the personal management of the colony, but did not arrive in America as the first representative here of the family until 1651. O'Callaghan, in *History of New Netherland*, ii. 550, states that Van der Donck was not allowed to practise law in New Netherland, because "the directors could not see what advantage his pleadings before the courts would have, as there were already lawyers in New Netherland," etc. This is also an error. See *N. Y. Coll. MSS.*, xi. 86, where the application is refused "because they doubted whether there were any other lawyers who could act or plead against him." Van der Donck was here from 1641 to 1655, when he died.

[3] *Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland, whegens de Ghelegentheydt, Vruchtbaerheydt en Soberen Staet deszelfs*, In's Gravens Hage, 1650, — "Account of New Netherland, its situation, fertility, and the state thereof."

[See O'Callaghan, ii. 90, 111; Brodhead, i. 506; Asher, no. 5; Brinley, ii. 2715; Huth, iii. 1031; Muller, 1877, p. 196, for 140 florins; Harrassowitz, cat. no. 61, book no. 87, for 125 marks; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 698. Brodhead found in Holland the copy now in the New York Historical Society's library. Mr. H. C. Murphy translated it for 2 *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 251, with an Introduction, and this, with Murphy's translation of *Breeden Raedt*, was in 1854 privately reprinted, 125 copies, by Mr. Lenox, with a fac-simile of the map of the Hudson from the *Zee-Atlas* of Goos. See an extract from this map given on a later page. — ED.]

[4] *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, i. 430.

Company. The tone and character of such a document must be necessarily aggressive; but, even though the reply to it by the provincial secretary, Van Tienhoven,[1] denies most of its allegations, it certainly contains valuable and trustworthy information.

Van der Donck's next work, acknowledged by him as his own,[2] is an improvement on De Laet's similar description. The time which had elapsed since De Laet's publication had taught different lessons, and Van der Donck's personal experience in the country described by him could not fail to give him a better insight than even the best written reports afforded to De Laet. But, with the latter, this author falls into the error of ascribing to the Indians a statement that the Dutch were the first white people seen by them, and that they did not know there were any other people in the world. This assertion is contradicted by the Long Island Indians, who talked with a later traveller, telling him that "the first strangers seen in these parts were Spaniards or Portuguese, who did not remain long, and afterwards the Dutch came."[3] The so-called "Pompey Stone," in the State Geological Museum, might be taken for another contradiction of De Laet's and Van der Donck's statements. Still more apparently contradictory evidence might be the similarity of some so-called Indian words with words of the Latin tongues.[4] Nor is Van der Donck correct in the relation of the discovery of the country by Hudson, and the map accompanying his work has several grave errors. The description of the physical features of the country, of the animals, and of the Indians is followed by a discourse between a patriot and a New Netherlander on the conveniences of the new colony, in which the questions are asked and answered, whether it is to the advantage of Holland to have such a flourishing colony, and whether this colony will ever be able to defend itself against foreign enemies.

Another resident of New Netherland, the Reverend Johannis Megapolensis (van Mekelenburg), one of the few educated men who came to this country at that early date, has

given us a book which, though not strictly referring to the history of the country, must yet be considered as one of the collateral sources, and finds its most appropriate place here, following the *Descriptions*. As minister of the Reformed Church at Rensselaerswyck, whither he was called by the patroon in 1642, he came soon in close contact with the Indians; and having learned the difficult Mohawk language, he became, several years earlier than the New England preacher, John Eliot, a missionary among

[1] *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, i. 422.

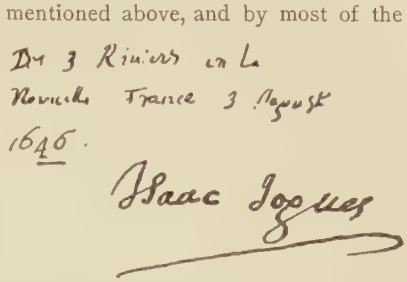
[2] *Beschrijvinge van Niew Nederlant, ghelijck het tegenwoordigh in staet is, etc., door Adrian van der Donck, beyder Rechten Doctoor, die tegenwoordigh noch in Nieuw Nederlant is*, Amsterdam, 1655; second edition, 1656, — "Description of New Netherland as it now is, etc., by A. van der Donck, Doctor of Laws, who is still in New Netherland."

[This work is perhaps the rarest and now the most costly of the early books on New York. Stevens (*Historical Collection*, nos. 200, 1,395) says, "Copies for the last forty years have usually sold for £12 to £21." It is priced in Muller (1872 edition, nos. 1,079–81, 1877 edition, nos. 955, 956), 150 florins; in Leclerc (no. 866), 200 francs. Field (*Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,592) gives some reasons for supposing there was a third edition in 1656. (Cf. Asher, no. 7; Brinley, ii. 2,718; Carter-Brown, ii. 801, with supplement, no. 811; also no. 814; O'Callaghan, no. 2,315; Sabin, v. 482; Huth, v. 1514; Trömel, nos. 280, 281.) There is a view of New Amsterdam in the first edition which is not in the second. O'Callaghan, *New Netherland*, ii. 551, has a note on Van der Donck's life and family. His book has been translated by General Jeremiah Johnson in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1841; see also second series, i. 125. — ED.]

[3] *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in several of the American Colonies in* 1679–1680, by Jasper Dankers and P. Sluyter, published from MSS. in his possession by Hon. Henry C. Murphy, in *Collections* of Long Island Historical Society, vol. i., 1867. See further on the Dankers and Sluyter Journal, the notes appended to Mr. John Austin Stevens's chapter on "The English in New York," in Vol. III.

[4] The hill below Albany, N. Y., on which the fort was built in 1618, is called by the Indians *Tawalsontha, Tawassgunshee, Tawajonshe*, "a heap of dead men's bones." *Tas de jonchets* would be the French for the same expression. Another place near Albany was called *Semegonce*, the place to sow; still another, *Negogance*, the place to trade; while *semer* and *négoce* (*negocio*) are the corresponding French words.

the Indians. The result of his labors was an account of the Mohawks, their country, etc.[1] This account was closely followed by De Vries, as mentioned above, and by most of the other writers on the Indians. A large share of the material for this work Megapolensis must have received from Father Jogues, a Jesuit missionary whom the Dominie rescued from captivity among the Mohawks. The letters of this courageous and zealous servant of the Church to his superiors teem with information concerning the Indians, whom he endeavored to Christianize,[2] and at whose hands he died.



Either the financial success of De Laet's works, whose copyright had in the mean time expired, or else the interest in New Netherland affairs which had been newly aroused by the

[1] *Een kort Ontwerp van de Mahakvase Indianen, haer landt, tale, statuere, dracht, godes-dienst ende magistrature. Aldus beschreven ende nu kortelijck den* 26 *Augusti* 1644 *opgezonden uijt Nieuw Nederlant*, Alkmaar, no date. It was published in Holland without his consent in 1651. Translated in Hazard's *State-Papers*, i. 517 *et seq.*, and by J. R. Brodhead in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. 137. [Muller, *Catalogue* (1872), no. 1,089, says but one copy of this tract is known, which is among the Meulman pamphlets in the library of the university at Gand. — Ed.] For a biography of Megapolensis, see *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, third edition, p. 378. Megapolensis says in one of his letters (*Documents relating to the History of New York*, xiii. 423), that in his youth *he renounced popery;* he could, therefore, hardly have been the son of a minister, as stated in the *Manual.*

[The general *Indian Bibliography* of T. W. Field must be held to indicate the sources of information regarding the condition of the natives at the time of the Dutch occupation. Bolton, in his *West Chester County* (1848), endeavors by a map to place the Indian tribes as they occupied the territory bordering the southern parts of the Hudson. Dunlap, *New York*, i. 20, gives a map showing the territory of the Five Nations. Dr. O'Callaghan translated in 1863 a paper in the State archives, entitled *A Brief and True Narration of the Hostile Conduct of the Barbarous Natives towards the Dutch Nation*, dated 1655, and gave the Indian treaty of 1645 in an appendix. Fifty copies only were printed (Field, no. 1,147). Judge Egbert Benson published in 1817, 1825, and in the *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., an essay on the Dutch and Indian names, of which a copy, with his manuscript additions, exists in Harvard College Library.

The most important of the works of the last century is Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Nations*, originally printed at New York in 1727. The second and third editions were printed in London, and the English editors gave additions without distinguishing them. The best issue is the fourth, printed in New York in 1866, exactly following the 1727 one, and enriched with notes by John G. Shea, who gives also its bibliographical history. (Field, no. 341.) The first place among recent books on this confederacy must be assigned to Lewis H. Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*. (Field, no. 1,091.) There is more or less illustrative of the early state of the Indians in Ketchum's *Buffalo* (1864), for the Five Nations, as described in Field, no. 824; in Benton's *Herkimer County* (1856), for the Upper Mohawk tribes. See also J. V. H. Clark's *Onondaga* (1849), praised by Field, no. 323; A. W Holden's *Queensbury* (1874), for those of the northern parts; and in E. M. Ruttenber's *Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (1872). Field, no. 1,334. — Ed.]

[2] [Published in English, with a biography of the writer, by Mr. J. Gilmary Shea in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 161, and separately, at Mr. Lenox's expense, in 1862 as *Novum Belgium, an Account of New Netherland in* 1643–1644; and also in French, *Description de Nieuw Netherland, et Notice sur René Goupil*, etc.; cf. also *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, iv. 15. Jogues was in New Netherland from August, 1642, to November, 1643. His Memoir is dated "Des 3 Riviéres en la nouvelle France, 3 Augusti, 1646," and the original manuscript is preserved in the Hôtel Dieu at Quebec. Field's *Indian Bibliography*, no. 781.

Mr. Shea speaks of this "as the only account by a foreigner of that time," not then being aware of the letter written eighteen years earlier by the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, the first Reformed minister in New Netherland. This manuscript, dated Aug. 11, 1628, "from the island Manhattans," was priced in Muller's 1877 *Catalogue*, no. 2,121, at 375 florins. H. C. Murphy printed an English version of it privately at the Hague in 1858; also in O'Callaghan's *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. ii. It had originally appeared in the *Kerkhistorisch Archief*, Amsterdam, 1858. Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 339. Muller issued a facsimile of it in 1876, accompanied by the Dutch transcript and Murphy's version, giving it a pre-

presentation to, and discussion before, the States-General of the *Vertoogh*, led to the compilation in 1651[1] of a book on New Netherland by Joost Hartgers, a bookseller of Amsterdam, which is nothing more than a clever arrangement of extracts from De Laet's *Description*, second edition, the *Vertoogh*, and Megapolensis' Indian treatise. Of much greater importance and value to the historical student is an anonymous publication of 1659, the title of which gives no idea of its real contents. Like most popularly written works of the day discussing topics of public interest, it is in the form of a conversation between a countryman, a citizen, and a sailor, who discuss the deplorable depression of commerce, navigation, trade, and agriculture in Holland, and speculate on the best means to improve this state of affairs.[2] The author speaks of New Netherland matters with a positiveness which puts it beyond a doubt that he had been in that country.[3] Only a few pages are given to the description of New Netherland, but the propositions advanced on colonization, self-government of colonies, free-trade, and slavery are all aimed at the West India Company and its American territories. These propositions are of such a broad and liberal character, that they would do credit to any writer of our more enlightened times. A similar feeling of hostility against the West India Company and New Netherland, both then (1659) in a condition to invite criticism, pervades the work of Otto Keye,[4] who advocates the colonization of Guiana as being more rational and profitable than that of New Netherland. Starting with the argument that a warm climate is preferable to a colder one, on account both of physical comforts and of greater commercial advantages, he gives a description of the two countries, the bias being of course in favor of Guiana.

The most remarkable of all the contemporary Dutch books appeared also anonymously in 1662.[5] The description of the country given in this work adds nothing new to our store

face, and printing only a hundred copies. Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 2,122, and 1872, no. 1,053, where the original is said to be in the library of Dr. Bodel Nyenhuis at Leyden, who had bought it at the historian Koning's sale in 1833. "Mr. Koning probably found it in the archives." The letter is addressed to Adr. Smoutius, minister in Amsterdam. *Historical Magazine*, ii. 191. — Ed.]

[1] *Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlant, Nieuw Englant, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1651, — "Description of Virginia, New Netherland, New England," etc. With a map and engravings.

[The book, being cheap at the time, was widely circulated, and most copies have disappeared, as is usual with such books. (Brodhead, i. 527.) Muller, 1877, nos. 312 and 2,265, prices it at 225 florins. (Cf. Asher, no. 6; Brinley, ii. 2,716; Trömel, no. 258; O'Callaghan, ii. 90, 111; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 721.). — Ed.]

[2] *Verheerlickte Nederlant door d' Herstelde Zee-Vaart: klaerlijck voorgestelt, ontdeckt en angewesen door manier van'tsamen-Sprekinge van een Boer, ofte Landt man, een Burger ofte Stee-man, een Schipper ofte Zeeman, etc.*, 1659, — "Netherland glorified by the Restoration of Commerce; clearly represented, discovered, and shown by Manner of a Dialogue, etc., 1659."

[3] Mr. Asher, in his *Bibliographical Essay*, says that because the author alludes to Van der Donck as Verdonck, it is less probable that he had been in New Netherland. I do not see why a misspelling of a name should weaken an assertion made by Mr. Asher himself to the contrary, — if that can be called misspelling which is in reality an abbreviation in the old Dutch MS.

[4] *Het waere Onderscheyt tusschen koude en warme Landen, aengewesen in de Nootsakelijckheden die daer vereyscht worden, etc., door O. K.* In's Graven Hage, 1659, — "The True Difference between Cold and Warm countries, demonstrated by the Requirements necessary," etc. A German edition appeared at Leipzig in 1672, under the title "*Otto Keyen's kurtzen Entwurff von Neu Niederland und Guajana*, long considered an original work. A copy of this edition is in the State Library at Albany. Cf. Asher's *Essay*, no. 12, and Carter-Brown, ii. 1,081.

[5] *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants Gelegentheit, Deughden, Natuerlijcke Voorrechten en bijzondere bequaemheyt ter bevolkingh. Mitsgaders eenige Requesten, Vertooghen, etc., gepresenteert aen de E. E. Heeren Burgermeesters dezer Stede*, 1662, — "Short Account of New Netherland's Situation, Good Qualities, Natural Advantages, and Special Fitness for Populating, together with some Petitions, Representations, etc., submitted to the Noble, Worshipful Lord Mayors of this City, 1662."

[The book is very scarce. "I have found only three copies in twenty years," said Muller in 1872, "and sold my last at two hundred florins." He also refers to the further development of the writer's liberal and economical ideas in *Vrije Politijke Stellingen*, Amsterdam, 1665. Muller, *Books on America*, 1872, no. 1,111; Brodhead, *New York*, i. 699; Trömel, no. 312; Asher's *Essay* no. 13; Carter-Brown, ii. 926. — Ed.]

of information, and the book itself has therefore been ranked by American historians with such compilations as the works of Montanus, Melton, and others, who simply reprinted De Laet, Van der Donck, etc. It is, however, of great value, for through it we obtain an insight into the Dutch politics of the day, which had so far-reaching an influence on the history of New Netherland and on its colonization. The fight between the Gomarian (Orangist) and the Arminian[1] (Liberal) parties, which had so long prevented the first organization of the West India Company, had never been settled and was now revived. The De Witts, as leaders of the Arminians, were as much opposed to this organization as Oldenbarnevelt had been. Whether the ulterior loss of New Netherland, to which this opposition finally led, embarrassed them as much as is stated[2] or not, it was certainly at this time (1662) in the programme of the Arminian party to destroy the West India Company, and by reforming the government of New Netherland build up the country. This seems to have been the motive for writing the *Kort Verhael*, which, according to Asher,[3] was written by a journalist, opposing the third ultra-radical and the Orangist parties, in conjunction with a Mennonist. It will be remembered that in 1656–1657 part of the South River (Delaware) territory had been surrendered, for financial reasons, to the authorities of Amsterdam, and had ceased to be in the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of New Netherland. The plan[4] submitted to the burgomasters in the Requests and Representations, etc., aimed at a further curtailing of the Company's territory in that region by planting there a colony of Mennonists, with the most liberal self-government, under the supreme jurisdiction of the city of Amsterdam; while the vehemence with which Otto Keye and his work favoring Guiana at the expense of New Netherland are attacked shows that the Anti-Orangists, though bent upon ruining one of the principal factors of the Orange party, were by no means inclined to give up New Netherland as a colony. A work from which copious extracts are given in the *Kort Verhael*, and called *Zeker Nieuw-Nederlants geschrift*, — "A Certain New Netherland Writing," — seems to be lost to us; also a work, *Noort Revier*, — "North River," — mentioned by Van der Donck.

The works of Montanus,[5] Melton,[6] and a few others[7] deserve no more mention than

[1] These two parties were originally divided on theological questions; Gomar's followers adhering to the religious doctrines of the Established Church and its principles of ecclesiastical polity, while Arminius (Harmansen), professor at Leyden, taught, among other doctrines then considered heretical, the supremacy of the civil authorities in clerical matters. Oldenbarnevelt, believing that the Prince of Orange intended to make himself King of Holland, although indifferent in religious matters, took the part of the Arminians, because he saw in them a powerful ally, and turned the theological controversy into a political question.

[2] O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, ii. 547.

[3] *Bibliographical Essay*, p. 16.

[4] O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, ii. 465.

[5] *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld; of Beschrijving van America en 't Zuyd Land, vervaetende d' Oorsprong der Americaener en Zuidlanders, gedenkwaerdige togten derwaerts, etc., beschreeven door Arnoldus Montanus*, Amsterdam, 1671, — "The New World, or Description of America and the South Land; containing the Origin of the Americans and South Landers, Remarkable Voyages thither," etc. A German edition of 1673, *Die Unbekante neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Weltteils America und des Südlandes, etc.*, is ascribed by the translator to Dr. O. Dapper, who, however, only published it with other works of his collection. [See Asher's *Essay*, nos. 14, 15, and the note to Mr. Stevens's chapter in Vol. III. — ED.]

[6] *Edward Melton's Zee en Land Reizen door verscheide Gewesten der Werelds. Edward Melton's, Engelsch Edelmans, Zeldzame en Gedenkwaardige Zee en Land Reizen, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1681, reprinted in 1702, — "Edward Melton's Travels by Sea and Land through Different Parts of the World." "Edward Melton, an English Nobleman's Curious and Memorable Travels by Sea and Land," etc. A part of this book was further reprinted in 1705 as *Aenmerkenswaardige en Zeldzame West-Indische Zee en Land Reizen, door een Voornam Engelsche Heer, E. M., en andere*, — "Remarkable and Strange West Indian Travels by Sea and Land by a Noble Englishman, E. M., and Others." [Asher, *Essay*, p. xliv and nos. 16, 17, 18, points out the clumsy, unoriginal character of Melton's tardy information. The O'Callaghan copy (no. 1,522) had the rare Lolonois portrait. See the note to Mr. Stevens's chapter in Vol. III. — ED.]

[7] *Beschrijvinghe van Oost en West Indien. Beschrijvinge van eenige voorname Kusten in Oost en West Indien als Zuerinam. Nieuw Neder-*

by title, as being compilations of extracts from books already referred to; and with these closes the list of such contemporary and almost contemporary Dutch works on New Netherland as are either purely descriptive or both descriptive and historical.

Of the contemporary Dutch works of purely historical character, not one treats of New Netherland alone; but the Dutch historians of the time could not well write of the *res gestæ* of their nation without referring to what they had done on the other side of the Atlantic. The first of them in point of time, Emanuel van Meteren,[1] gives us in his *Historie van de Oorlogen en Geschiedenissen der Nederlanderen*,[2] a minute description of the discoveries made by Hudson, and must be specially consulted for the history of the origin of the West India Company. Although credulous to such an extent that the value of his painstaking labors is frequently endangered by the gross errors caused by his credulity, he had no chance of committing mistakes where, as in the case of the West India Company, everything was official. His information regarding Hudson's voyage of 1609, we may assume, was derived from Hudson himself on his return to England, where Van Meteren lived as merchant and Dutch consul until 1612, the year of his death.

The next Dutch historian whose work is one of our sources, Nicolas Jean de Wassenaer,[3] takes us a step farther; but he too fails to give us much more than a record of the earliest years of the existence of the West India Company. His account of how this Company came to be organized differs somewhat as to the motives from all others.[4]

With the works of Aitzema,[5] *Saken van Staat en Oorlogh in ende omtrent de*

lant, etc., door verscheidene Leefhebbers gedaen, Leeuwarden, 1716, — "Description of East and West India." "Description of some Notable Coasts in East and West India, as Surinam, New Netherland, etc., by Several Amateurs." The description of New Netherland is a reprint of three chapters in Melton.

Algemeene Wereldt Beschrijving door A. P. De la Croix, Amsterdam, 1705. *Algemeene Weereld Beschrijving nae de rechte verdeeling der Landschappen, Plaetsen, etc., in 't Fransch beschreeven door den Heer A. Pher. De la Croix, Aerdryks Beschrijver des Konings van Frankryk*, — "General Description of the World," by A. P. De la Croix. "General Description of the World according to the Correct Division of Countries, places, etc.," written in French by A. Pher. De la Croix, Geographer to the King of France.

[1] Born at Antwerp, 1535; as grandson of Willem Ortels, of Augsburg, and first cousin of the historian Abraham Ortelius, his taste for historical studies seems to have been inherited.

[2] Originally published in Latin at Amsterdam, 1597. Van Meteren translated the work into Flemish, and published it in 1599; then continued it in the same language up to 1612, in which shape it was republished after his death at Arnhem in 1614. French editions of the work appeared in 1618 and 1670, and a German one at Frankfort in 1669.

[3] A native of Huisdem, in Holland, at one time teacher in the Latin School at Haarlem. After having studied medicine and been admitted to practice, he employed his leisure hours in collecting material for a historical work, which he published under the title, *Historisch Verhael al der ghedenckweerdichste Geschiedenissen, die hier en daer in Europa, etc., voorgevallen syn*, — "Historical Account of all the most Remarkable Events in Europe, etc." Part of it appeared under the name of his friend, Dr. Barend Lampe, of Amsterdam.

[This work, covering the years 1621–1632, was first brought to light by Brodhead (*New York*, i. 46), who has given an abstract of it in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 355. (Cf. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii. 27.) It contains the earliest reports on New Netherland printed at Amsterdam. It is described in Muller, *Books on America*, 1872, no. 1,745, and was first noticed by Asher, *Essay*, no. 330; Carter-Brown, ii. 276. — Ed.]

[4] He says: "Alsoo de Staeten van de Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provintien door de 12 jaerighe Trefves, die nu (1621) een eijndt nam, in West Indien te trafiqueeren uijtgeslooten waeren, soo ist, dat sij bevindende door het jusgentium, dat de Zeevaert een ijeder vrij staet, gedestineert hebben een Companie op te rechten om op de Landen te negotieeren, die de Coningh van Spaengien besit," — "As the States of the United Provinces have been excluded from trading to the West Indies by the truce of twelve years now expiring, upon finding that by the law of nations the navigation is open to everybody, they have resolved to organize a company for trade to the countries owned by the King of Spain."

[5] Lieuwe van Aitzema, son of the Burgomaster of Dockum, born 1600, and himself in high official position, died 1669. Michaud, *Bibliographie Universelle*, says: "Ce qui donne une si haute importance à l'ouvrage d'A. c'est cette foule d'actes originaux, . . . dont il a fait usage et qu'il a su tirer des archives et des dépôts les plus secrets [not always by quite proper means]." Wiquefort, in his *Ambassadeur*, criticises Ait

Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1621–1669, and *Herstelde Leeuw*, 1650,[1] and with Costerus's *Historisch Verhael*, 1572–1673, we come to the end of the list of Dutch historians giving us information of the events in New Netherland. But I cannot allow the reader to take leave of these Dutch books without a few words concerning the first book printed which treated of New Netherland. The *Breeden Raedt aende Vereenichde Nederlandsche Provintien . . . gemaeckt ende gestelt uijt diverse . . . memorien door I. A. G. W. C.*, Antwerpen, 1649,[2] is neither purely historical nor descriptive, but its polemic character requires such constant allusion both to the events in, and to the geography of, New Netherland, that we must class it among the most important sources for our history. Its authorship is unknown, and has been subject to many surmises.

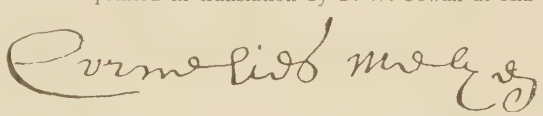
It may cause astonishment that the writers of Holland, a country then renowned for its learning, should not have thought it worth their while to write a history of their transatlantic colonies. But we must bear in mind, first, that the settlement of New Netherland was neither a governmental nor a popular undertaking; second, that in the beginning the West India Company had no intention of making it a colony, and that the people, who came here under the first governors as the Company's servants, and also those who later came as freeholders, were hardly educated enough, even if they had not been too busy with their own affairs, to pay much attention to, or write of, public matters. The few educated men were officers of the Company, and did not care to lose their places by speaking with too much frankness of what was going on. Whatever they desired to publish they had to submit to the directors of the Company, and it is not likely that any unpleasant information would have passed the censor. Third, the Company did not desire any information whatever concerning New Netherland, except what they thought fit, to be given to the public,[3] — hence the obstacles which prevented Adrian Van der Donck from writing the history of New Netherland in addition to his *Description*,[4] and the scanty information which the contemporary historian has to give us.

Subsequent Dutch writers found a good deal to say about the Dutch colonies on the Hudson and Delaware rivers. The most trustworthy among them is Jean Wagenaar,[5] who, beginning life as a merchant's clerk, felt a strong desire for acquiring fame as an author. He studied languages and history, and at last wholly devoted himself to Dutch history. His *Vaderlandsche Historie* is held in Holland to be the best historical work written, although his political bias as an opponent of the House of Orange is evident. Wagenaar is, however, more an annalist than a historian. As official historiographer, and later

zema sharply: "Elle [l'histoire d'A] peut servir comme d'inventaire à ceux qui n'ont point d'accès aux archives d'État, mais ce que l'auteur a ajouté ne vaut pas la gazette. Il n'a point de style, son langage est barbare, et tout l'ouvrage n'est qu'un chaos." However, he deserves our gratitude for throwing light upon the events of his time, and for giving us trustworthy and abundant information.

[1] *Affairs of State and War in and concerning the United Netherlands*, 1621–1669; *The Re-instated Lion*, 1650. The first edition of *Saken*, etc., appeared during the years 1657 to 1671; a second edition, containing the *Herstelde Leeuw*, 1669–1672. The work was continued by Lambert Sylvius or Van den Bosch up to 1697.

[2] *Broad* [wholesome] *Advice to the United Netherland Provinces . . . composed and given from divers . . . documents by J. A. G. W. C.* [Its authorship is assigned to Cornelis Melyn by Brodhead, *New York*, i. 509, and by Henry C. Murphy, who translates it in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* iii. 237, and says it affords some facts not known from other sources. Extracts were reprinted in translation by F. W. Cowan at Amsterdam in 1850, and again in the *Documentary History of New York*, iv. 65. Brodhead censures this translation. Cf. Asher's *Essay*, no. 334, who first gave it the prominence it deserves, and disbelieves in Melyn's authorship, and goes into a long examination of the question. It is priced at from £20 to £40. Stevens's *Hist. Coll.* i. 1,525; Sabin's *Dictionary*, vii. 112; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 664; Brinley, no. 2,714. — Ed.]



[3] *N. Y. Coll. Doc.* i. 16, and *N. Y. Coll. MSS.*

[4] *N. Y. Coll. MSS.*

[5] He was born 1709, and died 1773. Cf. Asher's *Bibliographical Essay*.

Secretary of the City of Amsterdam, he had free access to the archives; hence his statements are not to be discredited. His account of the circumstances under which Hudson was sent out in 1609 differs materially from all other writers. "The Company," he says, "sent out a skipper to discover a passage to China by the *northwest*, not by the northeast." A resolution of the States of Holland, quoted by Wagenaar, proves that previous to Hudson's voyage the Dutch knew that they would find *terra firma* north of the Spanish possessions, and contiguous to them.[1]

The scantiness of information concerning New Netherland in Dutch books explains why we can learn still less from the writings of other nations; for sectional or national feeling caused either a complete silence on colonial affairs, or incorrect and contradictory statements, leading many to rely on hearsay, unsupported by records.

Among the earliest works (not in Dutch) speaking of New Netherland, we have the work of Levinus Hulsius (Hulse), a native of Ghent, distinguished for his learning, and after him his sons, who published, at Nürnberg, Frankfort, and Oppenheim, a *Sammlung von* 26 *Schiffahrten in verschieden fremde Landen*, — "Collection of twenty-six Voyages in many Foreign Countries," — between the years 1598 and 1650; the twelfth part of this work chronicles the attempts of the English and Dutch to discover a passage by way of the North Pole, and includes Hudson's voyage.[2] The twentieth part refers likewise to voyages to this continent, and specially to our coast. Other German works of this early period can only be mentioned by their title, because for the above reasons they are not sufficiently correct to be considered trustworthy sources of information.[3] Their titles show them to be not much more than "hackwork," with little value to the contemporary or any later reader. But when we find that a celebrated geographer of the time, Philipp Cluvier (born at Dantzic, 1580, died 1623), omits all mention of the existence of such countries as New England and New Netherland, we can well understand how difficult it must have been to gather material for a universal geography.[4] Later editors of the same work, writing in 1697, had then apparently only just learned that up to 1665 a part of North America was called Novum Belgium. Hardly less ignorant, though he mentions Virginia and Canada in describing the bounds of Florida, is Gottfriedt in his *Neuwe Archontologia Cosmica*, Frankfort, 1638; yet he too was a distinguished geographer.[5]

Turning to the English, we find a few credible and a great many very fantastic and unreliable writers, treating either specially or incidentally of New Netherland. The first mention of the Dutch on the Hudson is made in a little work, republished in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society,[6] in which it is stated that an English sea-captain,

[1] *Vaderlandsche Historie*, ix. 227. "Resolved, that by carrying the war over to America the Spaniards be attacked there, where their weakest point was, but whence they drew most of their revenues. That a great part of America reaching thence to both poles was unknown (not undiscovered)."

[2] The full title of the twelfth part is: *Zwölfte Schiffart, oder kurze Beschreibung der Newen Schiffart gegen Nord-osten über die Amerikanischen Inseln, von einem Engländer, Henry Hudson, erfunden.* Oppenheim, 1627.

[3] *West und Ost-Indischer Lustgart, Eygentliche Erzaehlung wann vnd von wem die Newe Welt erfunden, besaegelt vnd eingenomen worden, vnd was sich Denckwuerdiges darbey zugetragen.* Koeln, 1618.

Newe vnd warhaffte Relation von deme was sich in den West vnd Ost Indien vonder Zeit an zugetragen, dass sich die Navigationes der Holleandischen vnd Engländischen Companien daselbsthin angefangen abzuscheiden. Muenchen, 1619 (by Nicolai Elend).

[4] *Philippi Cluverii Introductio in Universam Geographiam.* Leyden, 1629. The edition of 1697 was published with notes by Hekel, Reiske, and Bunon.

[5] The same Johann Ludwig Gottfriedt published in 1655 *Newe Welt vnd Amerikanische Historien.* A later German geographer of America was Hans Just Winckelmann, whose *Der Amerikanischen neuen Welt Beschreibung*, Oldenburg, 1664, I have not seen. Nor have I seen any works of French contemporary writers, as Pierre Davity, *Description générale de l'Amérique*, 3^me^ *partie du monde, avec tous ses empires, royaumes*, etc., Paris, 1643, 2d edition, 1660; M. C. Chaulmer, *Le Nouveau Monde, ou l'Amérique chrétienne*, Paris, 1659. [The last is in Harvard College Library; but without present interest. — Ed.]

[6] *A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England, and of Sundry Accidents*

Dermer, "met on his passage [from Virginia to New England] with certain Hollanders who had a trade in Hudson's River some years before that time (1619)." This is probably the first application of Hudson's name to the river. In a letter[1] from the same traveller, dated at a plantation in Virginia, December, 1619, he describes his passage through Hellgate and Long Island Sound, but does not say anything about the settlement on Manhattan Island.

This letter of Dermer and the *Brief Relation* first informed the English that "the Hollanders as interlopers had fallen into ye middle betwixt the plantations" of Virginia and New England.[2] The *Description of the Province of New Albion*[3] informs us that "Capt. Samuel Argal and Thomas Dale on their return [from Canada in 1613] landed at Manhatas Isle in Hudson's River, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor under the West India Company's of Amsterdam share or part, who kept trading-boats and trucking with the Indians;" but the official correspondence[4] between the authorities of Virginia and the Home Government proves that Argal and his party never went to New Netherland, although they intended to do so in 1621; for, hearing that the Dutch had settled on the Hudson, a "demurre in their proceding was caused."[5] The motive for making the above-quoted statement concerning Argal's visit in 1613 is apparent. The imposing pseudonym under which the *Description of New Albion* appeared was probably assumed by Sir Edmund Ploeyden (Plowden), to whom in 1634 Lord Strafford, then viceroy of Ireland, had granted the patent of New Albion[6] covering the Dutch possession, and who therefore had an obvious interest adverse to the Dutch title. Its publication at the time, when the right of the Dutch to the country was being discussed between England and the States-General of Holland, was intended to influence the British mind. It contains a queer jumble of fact and fancy, and it is not necessary to say more about its claims to be an historical authority than has already been published in the *Memoirs* of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.[7]

Considering that, according to Van der Donck, Sir Edmund Ploeyden had been in New Netherland several times, it seems almost incredible that he should have made such astonishing statements, if he was the author of the book. A perusal of a work published a few years previous to the *Description of New Albion* would have set him right, at least so far as the geography of the country was concerned.[8] The author of the *Short Discovery* has very correct notions of the hydrography of New Netherland, acquired apparently

therein occurring, from the year 1607 *to this present* 1622.

[1] To Purchas: see 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* vol. i.

[2] *N. Y. Coll. Doc.* iii. 17.

[3] *A Description of the Province of New Albion and a Direction for Adventurers with small Stock to get two for one and good Land freely; and for Gentlemen and all Servants, Laborers, and Artificers to live plentifully, etc. Printed in the year* 1648 *by Beauchamp Plantagenet, of Belvil in New-Albion.* [Reprinted in Force's *Tracts*, vol. ii. See documents in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Pub. Fund*, ii. 213; and Professor G. B. Keen's note on Plowden's Grant in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[4] *N. Y. Col. Doc.* iii. 6 *et seq.*

[5] [Cf. on this alleged Argal incursion, Palfrey's *New England*, i. 235, and George Folsom in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 332. Brodhead, i. 140 754, doubts it. — Ed.]

[6] See the patent in Hazard, *State-Papers*, i. 160. Doubts have been raised whether such a grant was ever made, or if made, whether it was ever acted upon by Sir Edmund; but the statement of Van der Donck in his *Vertoogh van Nieuw Nederland* should dispose of such doubts forever. When Sir Edmund came to New Netherland he was poor and in debt, without friends to help him; and seeing that the Dutch had a fort and soldiers, it was quite a matter of course that he returned to Virginia, saying he would not quarrel with the Dutch. — Ed.]

[7] Vol. iv. part i.

[8] *A Short Discovery of the Coast and Continent of America, from the Equinoctial Northward, by William Castle (Castell), Minister of the Gospel at Courtenhall, Northamptonshire, England*, 1644; reprinted in *Collection of Voyages and Travels, and compiled from the Library of the late Earl of Oxford*, 1745. It states very oddly that, "Near the great North River the Dutch have built a castle . . . for their more free trading with many of Florida, who usually come down the River Canada, and so by land to them, — a plain proof Canada is not far remote." The mouth of Delaware Bay is according to Castle under 41° north latitude. [Extracts are printed in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 231. The book itself is in Harvard College Library; also in the *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, no. 561. — Ed.]

by the study of Dutch maps; but the distances and degrees of latitude are as great a puzzle to him as to many other geographers and seamen of that day. As he wrote before the Dutch title to New Netherland was disputed, he is of course silent concerning the English claims to the territory.

The historian writing of New Netherland to-day has the advantage of being able to consult the journal of a governor of Massachusetts, John Winthrop, who took an active part in the occurrences which he describes.[1] Although it does not cover the whole of the Dutch period of New York, and his puritanical bias is occasionally evident, we have no more reliable source for the history of the relations between the colonies.

The few historical data given in the next book to be considered[2] are of interest, as the author endeavors to "assert the rights of the English nation in vouching the legal interest of England in right of the first discovery or premier seizure to Novum Belgium." They show, however, also how in so short a period as a man's life even contemporary history can be distorted. According to Heylin, who takes Sir Samuel Argal as his source, Hudson had been commissioned by King James I. to make the voyage of 1609, and after making his discoveries sold his maps and charts to the Dutch. The Dutch were willing to surrender their claims to Sir Edmund Ploeyden, he says, for £2,500, but took advantage of the troubles in England, and, instead of surrendering, armed the Indians to help them in resisting any English attempt to reduce New Netherland. Leaving aside Plantagenet's *New Albion*, we meet here, in a work which the author's high reputation must immediately have placed among the standard works of the day, a most startling falsification of facts and events which had occurred during the lifetime of the author. It is impossible to account for it, even if we suppose that these statements were made for political effect; for the men who read Heylin's book had also read the correct accounts of Hudson's voyages, and knew that Heylin's statements were false. The learned prelate is only little less at fault in his geographical account. Although he tells us that Hudson gave his name to one of the rivers, he mentions as the two principal ones only the *Manhates* or *Nassau* or *Noort* and the *South* rivers, being evidently in doubt which is the Hudson. Heylin had studied geography better than his contemporary Robert Fage, who published about the same time *A Description of the whole World*, London, 1658, but he is utterly silent as to New Netherland. In 1667, when he published his *Cosmography, or a Description of the whole World, represented by a more exact and certain Discovery*, he had learned that "to the Southwest of New England lyeth the Dutch plantation; it hath good ground and good air, but few of that Nation are inhabiting there, which makes that there are few plantations in the land, they chiefly intending their East India trade, and but one village, whose inhabitants are

[1] *Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in Massachusetts and other N. E. Colonies from* 1630–44. Edited by Noah Webster, Hartford, 1790; and *History of New England, from the Original MSS. and Notes of John Winthrop;* with Notes by James Savage, Boston, 1825. [These two titles represent the same book, the later edition being much the superior. See Vol. III. O'Callaghan (*New Netherland*, i. 274) says, "The statements of the New England writers in general on matters occurring in New Netherland, must be received, for obvious reasons, with extreme caution;" and he disputes the usual assertion of the New England writers, that Roger Williams was instrumental in preserving the peace between the Dutch and the Indians on Long Island. (*New Netherland*, i. 276.) For the diplomacy that passed between the New Plymouth people and the Dutch in 1627, see 2 *New York Historical Collections*, i. 355; cf. Bradford's *New Plymouth*, pp. 223, 233. — Ed.]

[2] *Cosmographie in Four Books, containing the Chorographie and Historie of the whole World*, London, 1657, by Peter Heylin, D.D., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Rector of Hemmingford and Houghton, and Prebendary of Westminster, "in his younger days an excellent poet, in his elder a better historian" (*Athenæ Oxonienses*). From the preface to the latter it appears that the *Cosmographie* was an amplification or enlarged edition of a *Microcosmus*, published in 1622, by the same author, who during his lifetime wrote and published about forty works of a theological, educational, or political character. (Sabin, *Dictionary*, viii. 260; *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, 1086–87.) There were other editions of various dates, for which see Bohn's *Lowndes*, p 1059.

part English, part Dutch. Here hath been no news on any matter of war or state since the first settlement. There is the Port Orange, thirty miles up Hudson's River," etc. This was written three years after New Netherland had become an English colony, when New York city numbered almost two thousand inhabitants, and some ten or twelve villages were flourishing on Long Island.

The best description, or rather the most ample, written by an Englishman, is that of John Josselyn, who published his observations made during two voyages to New England in 1638–1639 and 1663–1671.[1] Although he had been in the country, his notions concerning it are somewhat crude. New England, under which name he includes New Netherland, is thought to be an island formed by the "spacious" river of Canada, the Hudson, two great lakes "not far off one another," where the two rivers have their rise, and the ocean. His account of the Indians, of their mode of living and warfare, is highly amusing, and at the same time instructive, although no philologist would probably accept as correct his statement that the Mohawk language was a dialect of the Tartar. Nor would the botanist place implicit faith in the statement that in New England barley degenerated frequently into oats; and the zoölogist would be astonished to learn of "frogs sitting upon their breeches one foot high." His credulity has led this eccentric *raconteur* into describing many similar wonderful details; but his work is nevertheless of value, as giving, I believe, the first complete description of the fauna and flora of the Middle Atlantic and New England States. In some of his historical data he follows Plantagenet, probably at second-hand through Heylin, and is so far without credit.

Religion, which had already done so much to increase the population of the colony on the Hudson, was to cause a new invasion by the Dutch into their old possessions. While Arminians and Gomarists, Cocceians and Vœtians, were continuing the religious strife in Holland, a new sect, the Labadists, sprang up. The intolerance with which they were treated compelled their leaders to look out for a country where they might exercise their religion with perfect freedom. An attempt at colonization in Surinam, ceded to Holland by England in the Treaty of Breda, 1667, having failed, they turned their eyes upon New York, then under English rule, and in 1679 sent two of their most prominent men — Jasper Danckers and Peter Sluyter — across the ocean to explore and report. The account of their travels was procured, translated, and published by Mr. Henry C. Murphy in the *Collections* of the Long Island Historical Society.[2] It tells in simple language, showing frequently their religious bias, what the travellers saw and heard. The drawings with which they illustrated their journal give us a vivid picture of New York two hundred years ago. As they talked with many of the men who had been prominent in Dutch times, their account of historical events acquires special interest. The tradition then current at Albany, that the ruins of a fort on Castle Island indicated the place where Spaniards had made a settlement before the Dutch, is discredited by them; but the discovery of the so-called Pompey Stone, an evident Spanish relic, at not too great a distance from the Hudson River, makes it desirable that this tradition should receive special investigation. It is true the Indians in Van der Donck's time who were old enough to recollect when the Dutch first came, declared that they were the first white men whom they saw;[3] but their descendants told these travellers "that the first strangers seen in these parts were Spaniards or Portuguese; but they did not remain long, and afterwards the Dutch came." The Spaniards under Licenciado d' Aillon had made landings and

[1] *Account of two Voyages to New England*, London, 1675, reprinted in 3 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. John Josselyn was the son of Sir Thomas Josselyn and brother of Henry, one of the commissioners to organize the government of Maine under its first charter. Henry settled finally in Plymouth Colony. [See further on Josselyn and his books in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in several of the American Colonies in* 1679–1680. [Cf. notes to Mr. Stevens's chapter in Vol. III. The Labadist P. Schluter was in New Netherland in 1682, and his journal was printed from the original manuscript by Mr. H. C. Murphy, for the Bradford Club, in 1867.—Ed.]

[3] [Cf. "Indian traditions of the first arrival of the Dutch in New Netherland," in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i.—Ed.]

explored the country south and east of New York, and may not one of their exploring parties have come to Albany and fortified themselves?

While Aitzema gives us, in his *Saken van Staat*, the Dutch side of the public affairs in the seventeenth century, Thurloe,[1] in his *Collection of State Papers*, uncovers English statesmanship and diplomacy. His official position as secretary to the Council of State under Charles I., and afterwards to the Protector and his son, gave him a thorough insight into the workings of the public machinery, and makes his selection of papers extremely valuable. Among them will be found a document of the year 1656 on the English rights to New Netherland, which is highly interesting. I can refer only by title to other works of the seventeenth century speaking of New Netherland, as they are only either more or less embellished and incorrect repetitions of former accounts, or because they are beyond my reach.[2]

Skipping over a century, we come to the work of a native of New York, the *History of the Province of New York from its first Discovery to the Year* 1732, by William Smith, Jr. Considering that it was written and published before the author had reached his thirtieth year,[3] and that he had to gather his information from the then rare and scanty libraries of America and the official records of the province, the work reflects no small credit on its author. For the discovery by Hudson, he follows the accepted version, — that Hudson in 1608, under a commission from King James I., first landed on Long Island, etc., and afterward sold the country, or rather his rights, to the Dutch. Smith's knowledge of law should have prevented his repeating this statement, for he ought to have been aware that Hudson could not have had any *individual* claim to the country discovered by him. Another statement, repeated by Smith on the authority of elder writers, — namely, that James I. had conceded to the Dutch in 1620 the right to use Staten Island as a watering-place for their ships going to and coming from Brazil, — a careful perusal of the correspondence between the authorities of New Netherland and the Directors of the West India Company, then within easy reach, would have told him to be untrue or incorrect. If there were any truth in this statement, for which I have not found the slightest foundation, it would only prove that, with their usual tenacity of purpose, the Dutch, having once determined to settle on Manhattan's Island, could not be deterred from carrying out their project. Athough admitting that, in the long run, it would have been impossible for the Dutch to preserve their colony against the increasing strength of their English neighbors, he condemns the treachery with which New Netherland was wrested

[1] John Thurloe, born 1616, died 1668, was the son of the Rev. Thomas Thurloe, Rector of Abbots Roding, Essex. Through the protection of Oliver St. John, solicitor-general under Charles I., he easily obtained appointments and promotions in the official circles. His collection of papers was published by Dr. Birch in 1742.

[2] Ferdinando Gorges, *A briefe Narration of the original undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations in America*, London, 1658; and *America painted to the Life*, London, 1658, 2d ed., 1659. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the patentee of Maine. [See chap. ix. of Vol. III. — Ed.]

Samuel Clarke, *A Geographical Description of all the Countries in the known World*, London, 1657.

A Book of the Continuation of Foreign Passages; That is, the Peace between this Commonwealth and the Netherlands, 1654, London, 1656, printed by M. S. for Thomas Jenner.

Richard Blome, *Isles and Territories belonging to his Majestie in America*, 1673, and *The present State of his Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, 1687.

Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New York, formerly New Netherland*, London, 1670. [See the notes to chap. x. of Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] William Smith, Jr. was born in New York city in June, 1728; he graduated at Yale College in 1745; was appointed clerk of the Court of Chancery in 1748, and admitted to the Bar in 1750. Through the influence of his father, then attorney-general of the province, the revision of the provincial laws was intrusted to him and his law partner, William Livingston. In 1757 he published his *History of New York*. The breaking out of the Revolution found him a member of the council and a faithful adherent of the Crown. After some tribulation, he was allowed to proceed to New York city, whence he finally went to England, and thence to Canada, where he died as chief-justice in 1793. [Cf. the estimate of Smith in Mr. Stevens's chapter in Vol III. — Ed.]

from the Dutch. It is to be regretted that with so many official Dutch documents as Smith found in the office of the secretary, he did not write the history of the Dutch period of the province with more detail, and that he studied those which he consulted with hardly sufficient care.

Before a proper interest in the history of New York had been reawakened after the exciting times of the Revolution and of 1812, it revived in the European cradle of New York to such an extent as to bring forth a valuable contribution to our historical sources from the pen of the learned Chevalier Lambrechtsen.[1] Its value consists principally in the fact that the author had access to the papers of the West India Company, since lost, and that it instigated research and called attention to the history of their State among New Yorkers, several of whom now set to work writing histories.[2] Not one of them is of great value now, the documents procured in the archives of Europe having thrown more and frequently a different light on many facts. Many statements are given as based on tradition, others are absolutely incorrect,[3] and none tell us anything about New Netherland that we have not already read in De Laet, Van der Donck, and other older writers.

To the anti-rent troubles in this State and to the researches into the rights of the patroons arising from them, we are indebted to the best work on New Netherland which has yet been written. Chancellor Kent's assertion, that the Dutch annals were of a tame and pacific character and generally dry and uninteresting,[4] had deterred many from their study. Now it became an absolute necessity to discover what privileges had been held by the patroons under the Dutch government, and, upon examining the records, Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan was amazed to find a vast amount of historical material secluded from the English student by an unknown language. The writing of a history of that period, which had been a dark page for so long a time, immediately suggested itself; and as about the same time the papers relating to New York, which the State had procured abroad, were sent home by Mr. Brodhead, the agent of the State, the plan was carried into effect, and the *History of New Netherland, or New York under the Dutch*, by E. B. O'Callaghan, New York, 1846, vol. ii. 1850, made its appearance.[5]

[1] *Kort Beschrijving van de Ontdekking ende de navolgende Geschiedenis der Nieuwen Nederlande door N. C. Lambrechtsen op Ritthem, Chevalier, etc., Groot Pensionarius van Zealand*, Middelburg, 1818, — "A Short Description of the Discovery and Subsequent History of New Netherland, a Colony in America of the Republic of the United Netherlands." [There is a translation in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Coll.* i. 75. See Sabin, *Dictionary*, x. 38,745. — Ed.]

[2] *History of the State of New York, including its Aboriginal and Colonial Annals*, by John V. N. Yates, Secretary of State, and Jos. W. Moulton, New York, 1824. [This work is almost entirely Moulton's. A second part was published in 1826, when the work was stopped for want of patronage. It covers 1609–1632. Field's *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 1,104, 1,704. — Ed.] *The Natural, Statistical, and Civil History of the State of New York*, by James Macauley, 1829, — rather a chorography with copious topographical additions, a compilation of dry facts. *The History of the State of New York, from the first Discovery to the Present Time*, by F. S. Eastman, 1833, devotes only ten small octavo pages to the Dutch period. *History of the New Netherlands, Province of New York, and State of New York*, by Wm. Dunlap, 1839. [See Stevens's chapter, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[3] Dunlap, for instance, lets Schenectady be planted shortly after Fort Orange, in 1614, and considers the remnants of foundations found in Trinity Church-yard to indicate the location of the first Dutch fort on Manhattan Island, while they must have been the remnants of the city wall, running from the East River, along the present Wall Street, through Trinity Church-yard to the North River, — hence the name of Wall Street.

[4] Anniversary Discourse before New York Historical Society, 1828, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. i.

[5] Dr. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan was born at Mallow, near Cork, Ireland, in 1797. After studying medicine in his native country and in Paris, he came to Canada in 1823, where he soon took an active part in politics on the patriots' side. He was compelled to fly to the United States, and settled at Albany in 1837. Here he worked diligently in the field of American history, with results most gratifying to the student, until 1870, when he removed to New York, where he died in 1880.

[Dr. O'Callaghan's *New Netherland* is divided thus: Book i., 1492–1621; ii., 1621–1638; iii., 1639–1647. He also printed a few copies of the *Register of New Netherland*, 1626–1674, giving

It is perhaps beyond the possibilities of the human mind to write history, not simply annals, from a thoroughly objective point of view; but the historian must try to suppress his individuality as far as he can, or at least to criticise only the events of a remote period from the standpoint of that period, and not from his own, which is more modern and advanced. Dr. O'Callaghan followed no philosophy of history. He tried to suppress his individuality as Irishman, Canadian revolutionist, and devout Romanist; but occasionally it was stronger than his will, and impaired the objectivity and fairness of his judgment. Yet the descendants of the settlers of New Netherland owe to him a greater debt than to any of their own race, for he, first of any historian, has shown us the colony in its origin — the steadiness, sturdiness, and industry of the colonists, who were men as religious as the New England Puritans, but more tolerant towards adherents of other creeds. Notwithstanding this historian's desire to be accurate in his statements, his unqualified reliance upon previous writers has on several occasions led him into errors, the gravest of which is perhaps the repetition of Plantagenet's story of Argal's invasion. I have tried to show above that the English documents disprove this statement, which O'Callaghan repeats on the authority of Heylin.

J. Romeyn Brodhead, the collaborator of Dr. O'Callaghan in editing the documents procured for the State by his agency, was the next to enter the field as a writer on the history of New York. While Dr. O'Callaghan in a few instances allows his inborn prejudices to make him criticise the actions of the Dutch too harshly, and without due allowance for the times and circumstances, Mr. Brodhead, a descendant both of Dutch and English early settlers, fails on the other side, and becomes too lenient. Generally, however, his *History of New York* is written with great independence of judgment and with thorough criticism of the authorities. It is to be regretted that death prevented the completion of the work, which does not go farther than 1691; but what Mr. Brodhead has given us must, for its completeness and accuracy of research, and for the genuine historical acumen displayed in it, rank as a standard work and a classical authority on the subject.[1]

There are many additional works to be consulted by those who desire reliable information on the early history of New York, — the more general histories (like Bancroft's, chap. xv.), monographs,[2] and local histories, the *Transactions* of the various historical societies of the State, etc.; but the passing of them in review has been in some degree relegated to notes.

When the Greek philosopher Anaxagoras said that man was born to contemplate the heavens, the sun, and the moon, he might have added also the earth and its formation in all its details, and enjoined on his disciples the necessity of representing the result of such contemplations by maps and charts. We require a map fully to understand the geography and chorography of a country; hence a study of the maps made by contemporaneous makers becomes the duty of the writer of New Netherland history. I have already stated that the coast of New York and the neighboring districts were known to Europeans almost a century before Hudson ascended the "Great River of the North," and that this knowledge is proved by various maps made in the course of the sixteenth century. Nearly all of them place the mouth of a river between the fortieth and forty-first degrees of latitude, or what should be this latitude, but which imperfect instruments have placed farther north.

the names of the pioneers. John G. Shea printed an account of O'Callaghan in the *Magazine of American History*, v. 77. The *Catalogue* of his library, sold in New York December, 1882, represents a collection rich in works in the fields of his special studies. — Ed.]

[1] [Cf. Mr. Stevens's estimate of Brodhead in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [One of the most interesting of such is *The Anthology of New Netherland*, by Henry C. Murphy, published (125 copies) by the Bradford Club in 1865, which includes, with enlargements, Mr. Murphy's privately printed *Jakob Steendam, a Memoir of the First Poet in New Netherland*, The Hague, 1861. Steendam was the minister of the Protestant Church in New Amsterdam. Muller, *Catalogue* (1872), nos. 1,092 *et seq.*; (1877) nos. 3,063 *et seq.*, notes several of Steendam's publications. Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. 862, 898. — Ed.]

The configuration of the coast-line shows that they meant the mouth of the Hudson. Only one, however, of these sixteenth-century maps, made by Vaz Dourado at Lisbon, in 1571, gives the Hudson River in its almost entire course, from the mountains to the bay. A copy of this map, made in 1580, which found its way to Munich, was probably seen by Peter Plancius, who induced Hudson to explore that region of the New World, so little known to Europeans at that time. Although Vaz Dourado's map enlightens us so very little, I mention it because his map must lead to the investigation of the question whether the Dutch under Hudson were the first to navigate the river.

The oldest map of the territory now comprising the States of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, and known as "The Figurative Map," was found by Mr. Brodhead in the

FROM THE FIGURATIVE MAP, 1616.[1]

[1] [Brodhead's statements regarding the finding of this map are in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1845, p. 185; compare also his *New York*, i. 757. The original parchment map measured 2 × 2 feet, and showed the country from Egg Harbor, in New Jersey, to the Penobscot, 40° to 45°. The paper map covered the territory from below the Delaware Capes to above Albany, and is three feet long. The original is in colors, which are preserved in the chromolithograph of it issued at the Hague in 1850 or thereabout. (Asher's *List*, no. 1; Muller's 1877 *Catalogue*, no. 2,270.) There is a reduction of it in Cassell's *United States*, i. 247. — ED.]

archives at the Hague. It is on parchment, and is beautifully executed. A fac-simile copy, taken by Mr. Brodhead, was deposited in the State Library at Albany, and reproductions have been published in the *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. i., also in Dr. O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*. It purports to have been submitted to the States-General of Holland in 1616, with an application for a charter to trade to New Netherland, but it was probably produced then a second time, having done duty before on a similar occasion in 1614, with a map exhibiting the Delaware region on a larger scale. This 1614 map was on paper, and was found by Mr. Brodhead in the same place, and may be seen in similar reproductions, accompanying those of the 1616 map. Who the draughtsman of either was, is unknown. An inscription on the latter refers to draughts formerly made, which were consulted, and to the report of some men, who had probably been the Dutchmen captured by the Mohawks and mentioned in Captain Hendricksen's report (*New York Colonial Documents*, i. 13). De Laet seems to have had these maps before him when he wrote his *Novus Orbis*, and to have constructed the map accompanying his work from these two. Notwithstanding the great care and detail exhibited in them, they are necessarily inaccurate, but highly interesting and instructive, as they indicate the location of the several Indian tribes at the time of the arrival of the Dutch and of the Spaniards before them. The names given on these maps to some of the Indian tribes are so unmistakably of Spanish origin, that it is hard to believe they were not first applied by the Spaniards, and afterwards repeated by the Indians to the before-mentioned three Dutch prisoners among the Mohawks. We find one tribe called "Capitanasses," while in colloquial Spanish *capitanázo* means a great warrior; another, whom the Dutch later knew as Black Minquas, is designated by the name of "Gachos," the Spanish word *gacho* being applied to black cattle. Still another is called the "Canoomakers;" *canoa* being a word of the Indian tongues of South America,[1] the North American Indian could only have learned it from the Spaniards, and in turn have taught its meaning to the Dutch. Even the Indian name given to the island upon which the city of New York now stands, spelled on the earliest maps "Monados, Manados, Manatoes," and said to mean "a place of drunkenness," points to a Spanish origin from the colloquially-used noun *moñas*, drunkenness, *moñados*, drunken men. If to these indications of Spanish presence on the soil of New York before the Dutch period we add the evidence of the so-called Pompey Stone,[2] found in Oneida County, with its Spanish inscription and date of 1520, and the names of places given in their corruption by the Dutch in a grant covering part of Albany County ("Semesseerse," Spanish *semencera*, land sown with seed; "Negogance," place for trade, Spanish *negocio*, trade), we can no longer hesitate to believe that the traditions reported by Danckers and other writers mentioned before had some foundation, and that the Spaniards knew and had explored the country on the Hudson long before the Dutch came, but had thought, as Peter Martyr expresses it, after the failures of Esteban Gomez and the Licenciado d'Aillon, "To the South, to the South, for the great and exceeding riches of the Equinoctial; they that seek gold must not go to the cold and frozen North." The Spaniards never considered North America as of any value in itself; they looked upon it only as a barrier to the richer fields of Asia.

Dr. O'Callaghan had in his collection[3] a copy, on vellum, of a map entitled "Americæ Septentrionalis Pars," from the *West-Indische Paskaert*, which he added to the maps in the first volume of the *New York Colonial Documents*. The maker of it was A. Jacobsen, and, to judge from the fac-simile of the West India Company's seal exhibited on it, he made it for that company in 1621. It bears internal evidence that Jacobsen had as model one of the elder Spanish and English maps, as he retains some Spanish and English names for places, which on the Dutch maps just mentioned have Dutch names. No

[1] "Illa in terram suis lintribus, quas canoas vocant exuderunt," says Peter Martyr.

[2] *The Pompey Stone: a Paper read before the Oneida Historical Society*, by Dr. H. A. Homes State Librarian, Albany, 1881.

[3] [It is no. 2,390 in the *Catalogue*. — Ed.]

attempt is made to give details of interior chorography. The coast-line is fairly correct, and the rivers named are indicated by their mouths.[1]

The next in the order of date is also a manuscript map, of which a reduced copy was published by Dr. O'Callaghan in his *History*. Although it is only a delineation of part of New Netherland, the manor of Rensselaerswyck,[2] it is of importance to the historian, who in consulting it has to exercise his judgment to the utmost. Made in 1630 by Gillis van Schendel at the expense of six dollars, which paid also for four copies on paper, it shows, in the very year in which the land was purchased from the Indians and patented to the patroons, such a large number of settlements on both sides of the river, as to create the suspicion that it was made to induce emigration from Holland, where the four copies on paper were sent. De Laet, whose share of the land, as one of the patroons, is designated by De Laet's Burg, De Laet's Island, De Laet's Mill Creek and Waterfall, makes no reference to this map.

The first printed map of New Netherland accompanies De Laet's *Novus Orbis*, under the title of "Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium, et Virginia." In outline it resembles the map of 1621 by Jacobsen, while the details are taken from the maps presented to the States-General. It is very vague, however, and does not even give the names of any river. Long Island is represented by three islands, and the Delaware River rises, as on the 1616 map, out of a large lake in the Seneca country.[3]

Jacobsen's map of 1621 seems to have been used by Robert Dudley in his *Atlas*, upon which an Italian engraver, Antonio Francesco Lucini, worked; and Lucini's signature is attached to a "Carta particolare della Nuova Belgia è parte della Nuova Anglia, d' America carta ii.," which constitutes a part of Dudley's work.[4] He seems to have

[1] [Fac-similes of it are also given in Valentine's *Manual*, 1858; in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, vol. v. Muller, *Books on America*, iii. 143, and *Catalogue of* 1877, no. 3,484, describe the only other copy known. It is a colored map, and extends from Panama to Labrador. — Ed.]

[2] [O'Callaghan, i. 433, gives a list of settlers in Rensselaerswyck, 1630–1646. (Cf. Munsell's *Albany*, ii. 13, and the map of 1763 in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii. 552, and Weise's *Troy*, 1876.) In 1839 Mr. D. D. Barnard appended a sketch of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck to his discourse on the life of Stephen Van Rensselaer.

Much credit is due to Mr. Joel Munsell for his efforts to increase interest in the study of American affairs, and particularly for his labors upon the history of Albany and its neighborhood. He died in 1880. (Cf. *Historical Magazine*, x. 44; xv. 139, 270; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1880, p. 239.) He gives an account of his method and results in issuing historical monographs in small editions, in *Historical Magazine*, February, 1869, p. 139. His *Annals of Albany* appeared in ten volumes, from 1850 to 1859 (pp. 27–36 of vol. i. were never printed); his *Collections on the History of Albany*, four volumes, 1865–1871. See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1868, p. 104. He published in 1869 J. Pearson's *Early Records of Albany and the Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, 1656–1675, translated from the Dutch, with notes; and Wm. Barnes's *Early History of Albany*, 1609–1686, was privately printed by him in 1864, with a map of Albany, 1695. On the early Dutch history of this region, see also General Egbert L. Viele's "Knickerbockers of New York two centuries ago," in *Harper's Monthly*, December, 1876; a paper on the Van Rensselaers in *Scribner's Monthly*, vi. 651; and some landmarks noticed in B. J. Lossing's *Hudson River*, p. 124, etc. — Ed.]

[3] [It is given in fac-simile in the Lenox edition (1862) of Jogues's *Novum Belgium*, edited by Shea, who also gave it in his edition, 1865, of the tract, *The Commodities of the Iland called Manati ore long Ile*. Cf. Asher's *List*, no. 3; Armstrong's *Essay on Fort Nassau*, p. 7. Copies more or less faithful of De Laet's map appeared in Janssonius and Hondius's *Atlas* of 1638, and in the *Novus Atlas* of Johannes Janssonius, Amsterdam, 1658; again in 1695, with the imprint of Valk and Schenk; and earlier, in 1651, reduced and not closely copied, but with some new details, in the *Beschrijvinghe van Virginia*, etc.; and of this last a photo-lithographic fac-simile was made at Amsterdam a few years ago. — Ed.]

[4] [This map belongs to Robert Dudley's *Della Arcano del Mare*, Firenze, 1647, i. 57, of which there was a second edition, corrected and enlarged, in 1661. The 1647 edition is very rare, and the only copy known to me in America is in Harvard College Library. The author of the note on the map in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. i., where a fac-simile of it is given, did not seem to be aware of its origin. The Rev. E. E. Hale, in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1873, de-

PART OF DE LAET'S MAP, 1630.

consulted Spanish, Dutch, and English maps of more or less correctness, but understood none of them well. The Hudson is called "Rio Martins ò R. Hudsons." Manhattan's Island is in its proper place, with New Amsterdam marked on it; but the name "Isla Manhatas" is given to the land between Newark Bay, Passaic River on the west and the Hackensack on the east; while the strip of land now called Bergen Point is called "Oster's Ilant." The position of Manhattan has evidently troubled him very much, for we find the name again inserted covering the eastern townships of Westchester County. Stratford Point, at the mouth of the Housatonic, is "Cabo del Fieme," while Long Island, called "I. di Gebrok Land," is a group of six islands, the largest of which bears the correct name of Matouwacs, and Fisher's Island is called "Isla Lange." Staten Island, "I. State," is relegated, shorn of its dimensions, to Newark Bay, and its space divided by "I. Godins" and one of the six islands in the Long Island group called "C. Godins." The low coast of New Jersey, near Long Branch, is properly named "Costa Bassa." Thence going south, we come to "Porto Eyer" (Egg Harbor) and "I. Eyer," "C. Pedras Arenas" (Barnegat), "C. Mai," "Rio Carlo" (Delaware), and "C. Hinlopen ò C. James."

scribes some of the original drawings for Dudley's maps preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, and says the engraver has omitted some of the names given in the drawing. (*Memorial History of Boston*, i. 59.) The map of New Netherland differs from other maps of its time, and is not noticed by Asher. Lucini says that he was at work for twelve years on the plates, in an obscure village of Tuscany. The work is usually priced at £20 or £25. Quaritch's *Catalogue*, 321, no. 11,971. Leclerc, *Bibliotheca Americana*, 2,747 (150 francs.) — ED.]

The student of our early cartography must revert often to the rival maps and atlases of Blaeu and Jansson. The elder of the Blaeus, W. J. Blaeu, was long a maker of maps and globes,[1] and began to be known, with his map of the world, in 1606. He had issued many other maps when, in 1631, he collected them into his *Appendix Theatri Ortelii* (103 maps), the earliest of his atlases, which he later remodelled and enlarged, sometimes giving the text in French, and sometimes in Latin; that of 1638 being known as his *Novus Atlas*, and containing fourteen American maps. After several intermediate issues,[2] following upon the death of the elder Blaeu in 1638,[3] his atlas, under the care of his son, John Blaeu,[4] was issued with various texts, and with a wealth of skill rarely equalled since, as the *Atlas Major*.[5]

Jansson produced a rival of the earliest Blaeu atlas in 1633, with one hundred and six maps.[6] In 1638 it was called *Atlas Novus*, and had seventeen maps of America.[7] In 1639 a French edition was called *Nouveau Théâtre du Monde*, with new maps by Henry Hondius, son of the elder Hondius, eighteen of them being American, and that on New Netherland following De Laet's map. It includes New England and Virginia, and is the original of various later maps.[8] A fifth part of the *Nouveau Théâtre* was added in 1657, containing coast charts of America. Jansson reached his best in his *Orbis Antiquus*, of about even date (1661) with Blaeu's best.

In Mr. Edward Armstrong's essay on *Fort Nassau* a map in private hands is mentioned which seems to be little known. It exhibits the grant made to Sir Edmund Ploeyden of the Province of New Albion, and was printed at London in 1651. It is a strange combination of knowledge and ignorance, if not intentional deceit, purporting to have been made by "Domina Virginia Farrer," and shows the head-waters of James River to be within ten days' march of the California coast.[9]

A map of the Delaware territory was made, about 1638, by Måns Kling, for the Swedish Government. A later map of the same region, made by the Swedish engineer Peter Lindstroem in 1654, unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1697, when the Royal Palace at Stockholm burned down, is reviewed in another chapter. A Dutch map of the Delaware, made about 1656, has also been lost.[10]

Mr. Asher[11] and Mr. Armstrong incline to the opinion that the earliest of the later

[1] [Cf. the notes to Dr. De Costa's chapter, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [It is not easy to discriminate between these editions, as copies are often made up of various dates; but I have observed these dates: 1642, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1650, 1655, 1658, etc. The Dutch inscriptions on these earlier maps of New Netherland are quite different from those on the Latin later ones. — Ed.]

[3] [Sabin's *Dictionary*, ii. 5,714; Baudet's *Leven en Werken van W. J. Blaeu*, Utrecht, 1871, pp. 76, 114. — Ed.]

[4] [Cf. a dissertation on his work in Clément's *Bibliothèque curieuse*, iv. 287. — Ed.]

[5] [From 1659 to 1672 it was issued with Spanish text, ten volumes, but not including the American parts; in 1662 to 1665, with Latin text, eleven volumes, the last devoted to America, usually with twenty-three maps; in 1663, in French, twelve volumes; in 1664 to 1665 in Dutch, but somewhat abridged. (Cf. Asher's *List*, Muller's *Catalogue*, Armstrong's *Fort Nassau*, p. 7, on the map of 1645 particularly.) Muller says of this final edition: "The part treating of America may be regarded as the first atlas of what is now the United States, in the same sense as Wytfliet may be called the first special atlas of America in general." He afterwards added a *Theatrum Urbium*. The younger Blaeu also issued, in 1648, an immense map of the world in two hemispheres, twenty-one sheets. (Hallam's *Literature of the Middle Ages*, iv. 48; Muller's *Catalogue*, 1877, no 346. — Ed.]

[6] [It was based on Mercator's plates, which were bought in 1604 by his father-in-law, Iodocus Hondius, an engraver, who was born in 1546; worked in London, where he learned the Wright-Mercator projection, and later published maps in Amsterdam, including the new edition of Mercator, adding new plates, and died in 1611. But subsequent editions (1617–1635), etc., of the atlas were known as Mercator's and Hondius's. Sabin's *Dictionary*, ii. 5014. — Ed.]

[7] Quaritch's *Catalogue*, 259, nos. 19 and 20.

[8] [The same Jansson map of New Netherland is reproduced in his *Atlas Contractus* of 1666. Some editions of Jansson's *Novus Atlas* have the same text as Blaeu's, with the maps, of course, different from Blaeu's. — Ed.]

[9] [This map is given in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[10] See *New York Colonial Documents*, xii. 183.

[11] [*List of the Maps and Charts of New Netherland*, Amsterdam, 1855, and usually bound with his *Bibliographical Essay*. — Ed.]

group of maps made during the Dutch occupancy is the original state of what is called Dancker's map, known under the title of *Novi Belgii Novæque Angliæ necnon Pennsylvaniæ et Partis Virginiæ tabula, multis in locis emendata a Justo Danckers*, and supposed to date between 1650 and 1656.[1] The map purporting to be the oldest, and which there is reason to believe was this earlier plate retouched, is the *Novi Belgii, etc., tabula multis in*

SKETCH OF PART OF VISSCHER'S MAP.

locis emendata a Nicolao Joannis Visschero, of which Asher speaks of a copy in the Royal Library at the Hague.[2] It was afterward included in what is known as Visscher's *Atlas Minor*.[3] Visscher's map, with its view of New Amsterdam, was reproduced in what is known as Van der Donck's map, *Nova Belgica sive Nieuw Nederlandt*,[4] which appeared in the second edition of the *Beschrijvinge van Nieuw Nederlant*, 1656.

[1] [Cf. notes to Mr. Stevens's chapter, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] Cf. Brodhead, *New York*, i. 621. Muller priced a copy at forty florins. *Catalogue* (1877), no. 2,271.

[3] [See Mr. Stevens's chapter in Vol. III. The New Netherland map (of which a section is given herewith) is reproduced in Mr. Asher's *List*, with a tabulated list of names as they appear on this and the other early maps. Van der Aa issued a map called "Nouvelle Hollande," giving the coast from the Penobscot to the Chesapeake. — Ed.]

[4] [A phototype of it is herewith given. Other fac-similes of this map are in O'Callaghan' *New Netherland*, ii. 312; *Banquet of the Saint Nicholas Society*, in 1852; Valentine's *Manual*, 1852, and his *City of New York*, 2 *N. Y Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i.; Munsell's *Albany*; Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, ii. 249; Dunlap's *New York*, i. 84; and *Pennsylvania Archives* (second series), v. 233.

Modern eclectic maps, showing the Dutch claims and possessions, may be seen in Brodhead's *New York* (according to the charters of 1614 and 1621); in Bancroft's *United States*, ii. 297; in Ridpath's *United States* (showing the various European colonies in 1655); and in Lamb's *New York*, i. 218 (the same). — Ed.]

VAN DER DONCK'S NEW NETHERLAND.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A. BIBLIOGRAPHY. — In the bibliography of New Netherland, the first place must be given to the *Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland*, by G. M. Asher, Amsterdam, 1854–1867, the work appearing in parts. It embodies the results of work in the royal library and in the royal archives at the Hague; at Leyden in the library of the University and in that of Dr. Bodel Nyenhuis, rich in maps, and particularly in the Thysiana Library, which he found a rich field; and at Amsterdam, among the extensive stock of Mr. Frederick Muller, without whose assistance, the author says, the book would not have been written.[1] In his Introduction he gives a succinct sketch of the history and geography of New Netherland.

Next in importance are the catalogues of Frederick Muller of Amsterdam, particularly the series, *Catalogue of Books, Maps, and Plates on America*,[2] begun in 1872, and which he calls "an essay towards a Dutch-American bibliography" It was also under Mr. Muller's direction and patronage that Mr. P. A. Tiele prepared his *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de De Bry et de Hulsius*, etc., Amsterdam, 1867. It covers those voyages not Dutch of which accounts have appeared in Dutch, as well as the distinctively Dutch collections. The compiler dedicated it to Mr. James Lenox, from whose rich collection he derived much help. Muller's *Catalogue* (1872), no. 110; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 1,002.

The best American collection of books on New Netherland is probably that now in the Lenox Library. Mr. Asher said of it some years ago (*Essay*, p. xlix, *sub anno* 1867) that it was "absolutely complete."

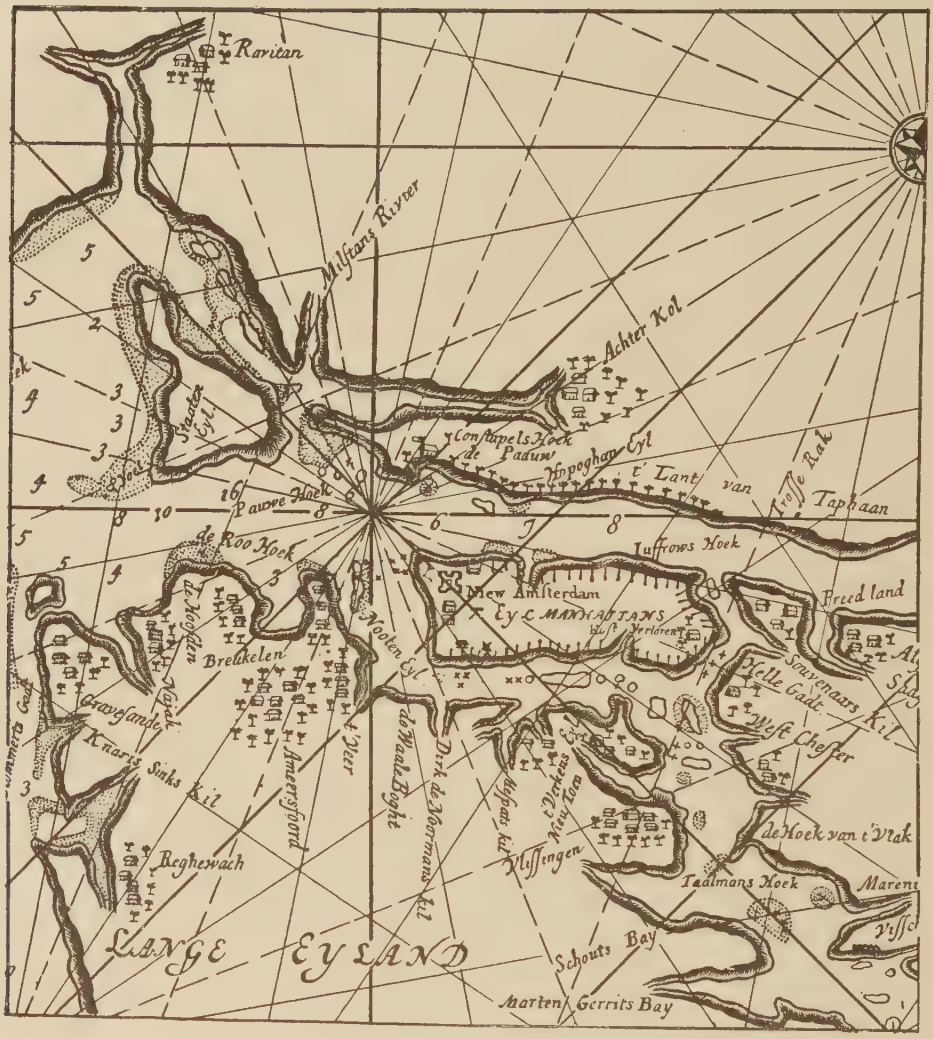
B. NEW AMSTERDAM. — The earliest accounts of the town by Wassenaer (1623), De Laet (1625), De Rasiere (1627), and Michaelis (1628), have already been mentioned. (Cf. the paper on the first settlement by the Dutch in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. iii.) Stuyvesant, in his letter to Nicoll in 1664, claimed that the town was founded in 1623. This statement is repeated in De la Croix's book, with De Vries's additions, published in Dutch as *Algemeene Wereldt-Beschrijving*, 1705. (Asher, no. 19.) O'Callaghan, *New Netherland*, ii. 210, has established that the town was incorporated in 1653.

The original Dutch records of New Amsterdam have been put into English in MS. volumes in the archives of the city, and some parts of them are printed in Valentine's *New York City Manual*, and in *Historical Magazine*, xi. 33, 108,

[1] Mr. Muller pays a warm tribute to Asher and his *Essay* in his *Catalogue* (1872), no. 1,052. "I always believed this book," he says, "to be a striking example of what intuition and discernment, combined with great zeal, can do." (Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. xxxvi.) Asher's book may be supplemented by P. A. Tiele's *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten*, 1858–1861, based on Muller's collection, which gives 9,668 Dutch pamphlets published 1482–1702, adding to Asher's enumeration many others relating to America; and again the Dutch-American student will find further help from J. K. van der Wulf's *Catalogus van de Tractaten in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman*, Amsterdam, 1866–1868, three vols., — a privately printed book in a collection now in the library of the University of Gand. (Muller's *Catalogue* [1872], nos. 108, 114; [1877] nos. 3,202, 3,566.) These two works show 19,077 pamphlets published in the United Provinces from 1500 to 1713.

[2] It consists of Part I. (1872), books, nos. 1–2,339. Part II. (1875), supplement of books, nos. 2,340–3,534. Part III. *a.* (1874) portraits, nos. 1–1,280; *b.* (1874) autographs, nos. 1–1,508; *c.* (1874) plates, nos. 1–1,855; *d.* (1875) atlases and maps, nos. 1–2,288. Many of the larger notes in this catalogue were not repeated in the consolidated *Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets, Atlases, Maps, Plates, and Autographs relating to North and South America*, nos. 1–3.695, which Mr. Muller issued in 1877. In the preface of his 1872 *Catalogue* Mr. Muller speaks of his American collection, which formed the basis of Mr. Asher's *Essay;* this collection he sold in 1858 to Brockhaus, and another was sold in 1866 to Henry Stevens, — all of which, as well as later acquisitions, formed the foundation of his *Catalogue*. "Since I began my present business," says Mr. Muller in 1872, "now more than thirty years ago, my firm conviction has been that the antiquarian bookseller can largely serve science, bibliography, or literary history especially, without forgetting his own profit. . . . An antiquarian bookseller who is not himself a student, or at least desirous of furthering science by the aid of his connections, will hardly be as successful as he might be in another less scientific calling. Experience has amply shown me that this opinion, merely a loose impression when I first started in business, was correct." Mr. Muller was born in Amsterdam, July 22, 1817, and was early apprenticed to his uncle, a bookseller of that town, and in 1843 he became a bookseller on his own account, and identified himself thereafter with bibliography. His pupil and friend, Otto Harrassowitz, printed a memoir of Muller in the German *Börsenblatt*, no. 48; and there is also a sketch with an engraved portrait in *Trübner's Literary Record*, new series, vol. ii. (1881) no. 1. He died Jan. 6, 1881.

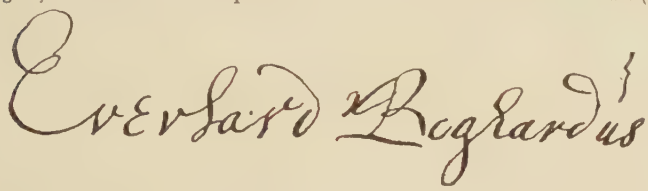
170, 224, 354; xii. 30; xiii. 39, 168. Cf. paper on the development of its municipal government in the Dutch period, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1882, and the papers on the city of New York in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vols. i. and iii. Some notes on the Indian incursions in and about New Amsterdam during the Dutch period are in Valentine's *New York City Manual*, 1863, p. 533. The principal histories of the town are Martha J. Lamb's (1877), M. L. Booth's (1859), W. L. Stone's (1872), and David T. Valentine's (1853). The last comes down only to 1750, and this and Lamb's are of the most importance. Something can be derived from the gatherings of J. F. Watson in his *Annals of New York City and State*, 1846, and the appendix to his *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1830. The reader will find interest in various local antiquarian quests, as exemplified in J. W. Gerard's *Old Streets of New*



NEW YORK AND VICINITY, 1666.[1]

[1] This fac-simile of the lower portion of the map entitled "De Noord Rivier, anders R. Manhattans, off Hudson's Rivier, genaamt t'Groodt," which appeared in a tract at Middleburgh (and also at the Hague in 1666 in Goos's *Zee-Atlas*) in answer to the reply of Downing to the memoir (1664) of the deputies of the States-General. The cut is made from the reproduction in Mr. Lenox's edition of H. C. Murphy's translation of the *Vertoogh* and *Breeden Raedt*, New York, 1854. The North is to the right.

York under the Dutch (1874).[1] A map of the original grants of village lots on the island, from the Dutch West India Company, is in the *City Manual* (1857), and in the same (1856) is a map showing the made and swampy lands, as indicating the original surface of the town. In other volumes (1852 and 1853), and in Valentine's *History*, p. 379, is a modern plan of the city, showing the line of the original high-water marks and the location of the early farms. It is one of these farms, that of Dominie Bogardus, the pastor of the Dutch church, who so vigorously opposed Kieft's plans, that is now the property of Trinity Church, and the source of a large revenue. (See the Key in Valentine's *History*, p. 380.) The same serial preserves views of sundry landmarks, like the canal in Broad Street, of 1659 (in 1862, p. 515), a windmill of 1661 (in 1862, p. 547), a house built in 1626 (in 1847, p. 346). A plan of the fort built in 1633–1635 is in Valentine's *New York*, p. 27; and at p. 38 is a plan of the town in 1642, as well as the author could make it out from existing data.

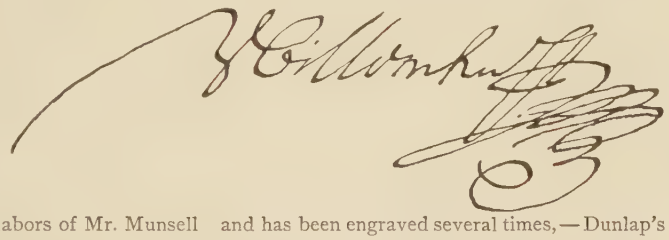


For the northern part of the island, James Riker's *History of Harlem*, 1881, affords much interest, tracing more minutely than usual the associations of the early comers with their family stocks in Europe, and showing by a map the original locations of their house-lots at Harlem.

C. Local Histories. — The Editor is not aware of any considerable bibliography of New York local histories, except as they are included in F. B. Perkins's *Check List of American Local History*. Some help may be derived from the *Brinley* and *Alofsen Catalogues*, and others of a classified character. We have indicated in another Note the labors of Mr. Munsell for the Albany region. An edition of G. Furman's *Antiquities of Long Island*, edited by F. Moore in 1875, includes a bibliography of Long Island by Henry Onderdonk, Jr. The most considerable of all the local histories is Stiles's *History of Brooklyn*, 1867–1870, which gives a map of the Breuckelen settlements in 1646. The Faust Club in 1865 issued (125 copies) an older book, G. Furman's *Notes of Brooklyn*, which had originally appeared in 1824. Benj. F. Thompson's *History of Long Island*, 2d ed., 1843, is the most comprehensive of the accounts of that island, while N. S. Prime's *History of Long Island* is more particularly concerned with its ecclesiastical history. There are various lesser monographs on the island towns, like Riker's *Newton* (1852), Onderdonk's *Hempstead* (1878), etc. Cf. also *Historical Magazine*, viii. 89; and in the same, vi. 145, Mr. G. P. Disosway recounts the early history of Staten Island.

Mr. Fernow translated and edited in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. xiii., the papers in the State archives upon the history and settlements on the Hudson and the Mohawk (1630–1684), as he has said in the text, which must stand as the basis for much which is given in the special treatises of Bolton on *West Chester County* (or such thorough monographs as that of C. W. Baird on the *History of Rye*, 1781 in this county), P. H. Smith on *Duchess County*, 1877, not to name others. The more remote parts of the State have little or no connection with the Dutch period.

D. The Dutch Governors. — Mr. George Folsom has a paper on the governors in 2 *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. On Peter Minuit, the first governor, there is a paper by J. B. Moore in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1849, p. 73, and another in *Historical Magazine*, xiii. 205. An autograph of Kieft is given herewith. Of Stuyvesant, the last governor, who survived the surrender, and died in 1672 (Brodhead, ii. 183), we have various memorials. His portrait is preserved, belonging to Mr. Robert Van Rensselaer Stuyvesant,



and has been engraved several times, — Dunlap's *New York*, vol. i.; O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, vol. ii.; Lamb's *New York*, i. 127; Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, vol. ii. (Cf. *Catalogue of the N. Y. Hist. Soc. Gallery*, no. 67.) Two reminders of him long remained to New Yorkers, — his house in the Bowery, which is shown as it existed at the time of his death in Valentine's *New York*, p. 53, and in his *Manual*, 1852, p. 407; and in Watson's *Annals of New*

[1] Of his tract on the Stadthuys and the views of that building, see Mr. Stevens's chapter in Vol. III.

York, p. 196, as it stood later perched upon so much of the original knoll as improvements had not removed. The old pear-tree associated with his name is depicted in Valentine's *Manual*, 1861, p. 533, and in Lossing's *Hudson River*, p. 416.

Mr. Fernow contributed to the *Magazine of American History*, ii. 540, a monograph on Stuyvesant's journey to Esopus in 1658. See also 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vi. 533.

E. Levinus Hulsius's Collection of Voyages. — The twenty-six parts of this work were originally issued between 1598 and 1650, and this long interval, as well as their German text finding more popular use than the Latin of De Bry, has conduced to make sets much rarer of Hulsius than of De Bry. Scholars also award Hulsius the possession of more judgment in compiling and translating than is claimed for De Bry. Asher printed in 1833 a *Short Bibliographical Memoir* of Hulsius, which became, when extended, his *Bibliographical Essay on the Voyages and Travels of Hulsius and his Successors*, in 1839; and in this he doubts if a perfect set of all the editions of all the parts had ever been got together. An approximate completeness, however, pertains to the sets in the Carter-Brown and Lenox libraries, as described in the *Catalogue* of the former, vol. i. p. 467, and in the *Contributions to a Catalogue of the Lenox Library*, no. 1, New York, 1877. The set described in this shows all the first editions of the twenty-six parts, with second issues of three of them, Latin as well as German of two of them; two parts successively issued of one of them (part xi.) and other copies with variations of three of them. There are eighteen second editions, counting variations (one is lacking); nine third editions or variations; six fourth editions (with one lacking); two fifth editions (with one lacking). This would indicate that an absolutely complete set, to include every part, edition, and variety, would increase the twenty-six parts to seventy-three. The Carter-Brown copy seems to be less perfect. The *Huth Catalogue* shows a complete series of first editions only.

Tiele's *Mémoire Bibliographique* pertains to such voyages in this collection as were made by Dutch navigators. Sabin's *Dictionary*, viii. 526, gives fuller collations for the parts relating to America. Quaritch printed a collation in 1860.

Bohn published a collation of Lord Lyndsay's copy.

The Lenox Library possesses MS. Collations of the Grenville and other sets in the British Museum, of those in the Royal Library, Berlin, and the City Library of Hamburg.

Sets of such completeness as collectors may hope to attain have been quoted at £335 (Crowninshield sale, 1860, — all first editions but one), and 6,700 and 4,500 marks.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW SWEDEN, OR THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN,

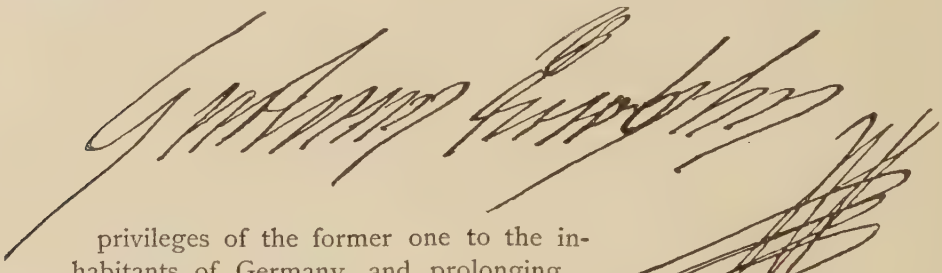
Late Professor of Mathematics in the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

THE honor of projecting the first Swedish settlement in foreign parts is due to Willem Usselinx,—a native of Antwerp, who resided for several years in Spain, Portugal, and the Azores, and was afterward engaged in mercantile pursuits in Holland, acquiring distinction as the chief founder of the Dutch West India Company.[1] Failing to obtain adequate remuneration for his services in the Netherlands, he visited Sweden, and succeeded in inducing Gustavus II. (Adolphus) to issue a *Manifest* at Gottenburg, Nov. 10, 1624, instituting a general commercial society, called the Australian Company, with special privileges of traffic with Africa, Asia, and America. Authority was conferred on Usselinx to solicit subscriptions, and a contract of trade was drawn up to be signed by the contributors, the whole scheme being commended in a paper of great length by the projector of it. On the 14th of June, 1626, a more ample charter was conceded, which was confirmed in the Riksdag of 1627,[2] and followed by an order of the sovereign requiring subscribers to make their payments by May, 1628. The King himself pledged 400,000 daler of the royal treasure on equal risks, and other members of his family took stock in the Company, which embraced the Royal Council, the most distinguished of the nobility, officers of the army, bishops and other clergymen, burgomasters and aldermen of the cities, and many of the commonalty. It was believed that the enterprise would prove of great commercial benefit to Sweden, besides affording private individuals opportunity to recover fortunes lost through the disastrous wars of the period, and furnishing, in the

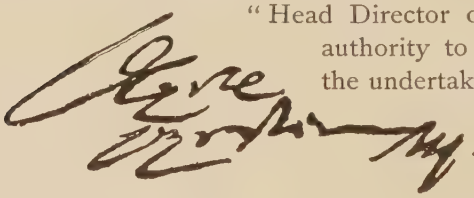
1 See the preceding chapter.

2 In a letter of the 27th of April, of that year, Gustavus also commended the project to the Swedish Lutheran bishops, "the rather," says Geijer, "that the Company was to labor for the conversion of the heathen." Some popular verses of the day are cited by the same historian, attributing the solicitation of the clergy to invest their funds in the venture to motives not so pious.

colonies to be established, safe places of retreat for many exiles. By means of a union, in 1630, with the Ship Company, instituted by agreement of the cities of Sweden, at the Riksdag of the preceding year, the Australian — or, as it was now generally called, the South — Company acquired the control of sixteen well-equipped vessels, which they proceeded to send to sea. No advantage, however, was derived from any of the voyages made, and in 1632 four of the ships were taken by Spain. Meanwhile the momentous conflicts of the age diverted the attention of the monarch and drained the resources of the country, causing inevitable delay in carrying out the plans of the Company, until at last it was determined to seek the aid of foreign capital. Just before the battle of Lützen closed the earthly career of Gustavus, a new charter was prepared for his signature, extending the



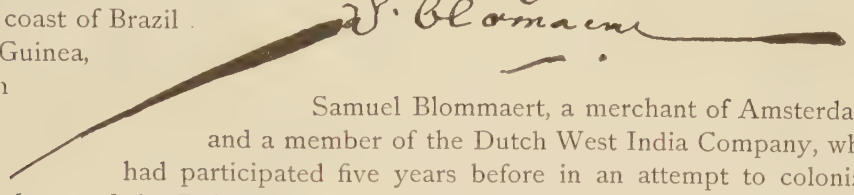
privileges of the former one to the inhabitants of Germany, and prolonging the enjoyment of them until the first day of January, 1646. This paper, which was already dated, was published by Axel Oxenstjerna, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Sweden,[1] at Heilbronn, April 10, 1633, and was confirmed, with certain modifications, by the Deputies of the four Upper Circles at Frankfort, Dec. 12, 1634. Another, written at the same time and signed by the Chancellor May 1, 1633, recognized Usselinx as "Head Director of the New South Company," with authority to receive subscriptions and promote the undertaking; in discharge of which duty the zealous Belgian issued a fresh defence of his project, addressed especially to the Germans, besides reprinting in their language the earlier documents on the subject. Nevertheless, no success attended even this well-advertised revival of the long-cherished enterprise, and subsequent appeals of Usselinx to France and England, the Hanse Towns, and the States-General appear to have been without result.[2]



[1] Portraits of Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna, copied from originals in Sweden, are owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[2] According to Campanius, the Swedish Government likewise obtained, through Johan Oxenstjerna, ambassador to King Charles I. of England, in 1634, the renunciation in their favor of all pretensions of the English to the territory afterward known as New Sweden, based on the right of first discovery, — a statement "confirmed by von Stiernman," says Acrelius, "out of the official documents, the article of cession being preserved in the royal archives before the

The first real advance towards the founding of New Sweden was made in 1635. In May of that year Chancellor Oxenstjerna visited Holland, and on his return home held correspondence upon the advantages of forming a Swedish settlement on the coast of Brazil or Guinea, with



Samuel Blommaert, a merchant of Amsterdam and a member of the Dutch West India Company, who had participated five years before in an attempt to colonize the shores of the Delaware; and in the following spring he commissioned Peter Spiring, another Dutchman, dwelling in Sweden, to learn whether some assistance might not be obtained from the States-General. With this

intent, proposals were made by Usselinx, now Swedish minister, to induce the States of Holland to found a "Zuid-Compagnie," in conjunction with his Government; but the Assembly of the Nineteen (to whom the matter was referred) refusing their consent, the States postponed further action in the premises. Nevertheless, if failure attended this appeal to the rulers of the nation, Spiring's intercourse with private individuals had a happier issue; and conversations with Blommaert introduced to his acquaintance Peter Minuit, or Minnewit, a native of Wesel, who had served the Dutch West India Company from 1626 to 1632 as Director-General of New Netherland,[1] living in New Amsterdam, and who was then once more residing in Cleves, — the person who was destined to conduct the first Swedish expedition to America.

In a letter dated at Amsterdam, June 15, 1636,[2] borne home by Spiring,

burning of the palace" of Stockholm in 1697. Sprinchorn recently searched the archives of Sweden for official testimony on the subject without avail, although he "met with the declaration of Campanius in more than one contemporaneous instrument." The succeeding passage in Campanius, relating to the claims of the Hollanders, has been grossly mistranslated by Du Ponceau (misleading Reynolds, the translator of Acrelius), even to the mentioning of a treaty confirming the purchase of the Dutch title by the Swedes, regarding which nothing whatever appears in the original.

[1] See the preceding chapter.

[2] This letter is as follows: —

Whereas many kingdoms and countries prosper by means of navigation, and parts of the West Indies have gradually been occupied by the English, French, and Dutch, it seems to me that the Crown of Sweden ought not to forbear to make also its name known in foreign lands; and therefore I, the undersigned, desire to tender my services to the same, to undertake, on a small scale, what, by God's grace, should in a short time result in something great.

In the first place, I have proposed to Mr. Peter Spiring to make a voyage to the Virginias, New Netherland, and other regions adjacent, certain places well known to me, with a very good climate, which might be named Nova Suedia.

For this expedition there would be required a ship of 60, 70, or 100 läster [120, 140, or 200 tons], armed with twelve guns, and sufficient ammunition.

For the cargo, 10,000 or 12,000 gulden would be needed, to be expended in hatchets, axes, kettles, blankets, and other merchandise.

A crew of twenty or twenty-five men would be wanted, with provisions for twelve months, which would cost about 3,400 gulden.

In case the Crown of Sweden would provide

Minuit offered "to make a voyage to the Virginias, New Netherland, and other regions adjoining, certain places well known to him, with a very good climate, which might be named Nova Suedia;" and this proposal, or one grounded on it, was read in the Swedish Råd, the 27th of September. Soon afterward Spiring was again sent out to Holland as minister; and on further consultation with Minuit and Blommaert, now Swedish Commissary (or consul-general) at Amsterdam, it was determined to form a Swedish-Dutch Company to carry on trade with, and establish colonies on, portions of the North American coast not previously taken up by the Dutch or English. The cost of the first expedition was estimated at twenty-four thousand

the ship with ammunition, with twelve soldiers, to garrison and hold the places, and likewise furnish a bark or yacht, for facilitating trade, the whole [additional] expense might come to about 1,600 gulden,—one half of which I myself will guarantee, Mr. Spiring assuming the other half, either on his own account or for the Crown, the same to be paid at once, in cash.

As to the time of sailing, the sooner we start the better; for, although trade does not begin till spring, by being on the spot in season, we can get on friendly terms with the savages, and induce them to collect as many furs as possible during the winter, and may hope to buy 4,500 or 6,000 beaver skins, thus acquiring a large capital from so small a commencement, and the ability to undertake more hereafter.

The Crown of Sweden might favor the beginners of this new enterprise with a charter, prohibiting all other persons from sailing from Sweden within the limits of *Terra Nova* and Florida for the space of twenty years, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo. And as it often happens that French or Portuguese vessels are met with on the ocean, authority should likewise be granted to capture such ships, and bring them as lawful prizes to Sweden. Also, it should be conceded that all goods of the Company for the first ten years be free of duty both coming in and going out.

And, as the said land is suited for growing tobacco and various kinds of grain, it would be well to take along proper persons to cultivate these, who might at the same time be employed as garrison.

In addition, the advantages to be derived from the enterprise in course of time by the Crown of Sweden could be indicated orally by me, if I were called to Sweden to give a more detailed account of everything. However, that shall be as the gentlemen of the Government see fit.

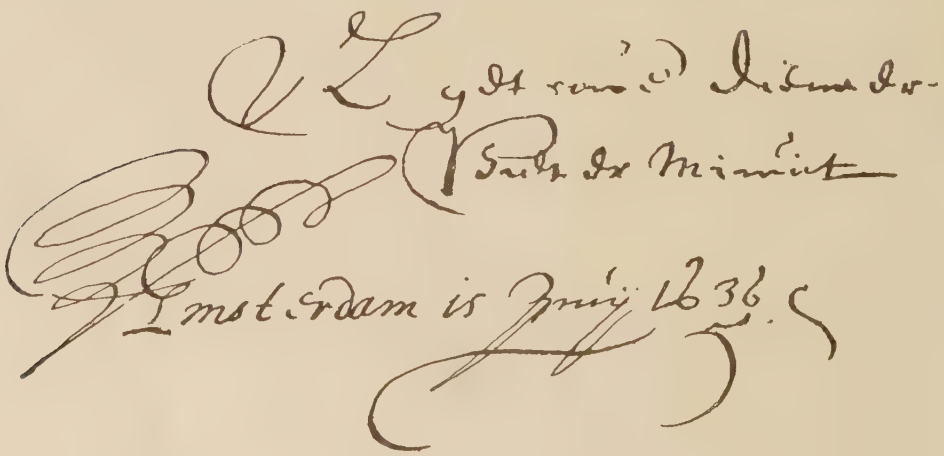
This is designed briefly to serve your Excellency as a memorandum. I trust your Excellency will write an early answer from Sweden to my known friend [Blommaert?], whether the work will be undertaken, so that no time be lost, and others anticipate an enterprise which should bring so great profit to the Crown of Sweden.

Herewith wishing your Excellency *bon voyage*, I remain

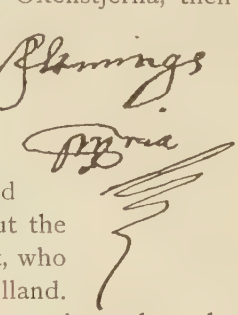
Your Excellency's faithful servant,

PIETER MINUIT.

AMSTERDAM, June 15, 1636.



(it actually amounted to over thirty-six thousand) Dutch florins, half of which was to be contributed by Minuit and Blommaert and their friends, and the remaining half to be subscribed in Sweden. Minuit was to be the leader of it, and Blommaert the commissioner in Amsterdam. After these stipulations had been concluded, in February, 1637, Minuit set out for Stockholm. The Government embraced the scheme, and promised to place two fully-equipped vessels at the disposal of the Company, while the contribution of money required from Sweden was subscribed by Axel Oxenstjerna, his brother Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstjerna, their cousin Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstjerna, and Clas Fleming (Royal Councillors and Guardians of Queen Christina), and Peter Spiring. Fleming, like the Chancellor, was a very zealous promoter of the project, and, as virtual chief of the admiralty (the head-admiral was aged and disqualified for service), obtained a commission to fit out the ships, concerting the details with Minuit and Blommaert, who procured an experienced crew and suitable cargo in Holland.



The vessels were sent over to Gottenburg during the spring, when the expedition was to start. Delays occurred, however, and the vessels, — the "Kalmar Nyckel" (Key of Calmar), a man-of-war, under Captain Anders Nilsson Krober, and the sloop "Gripen" (the Griffin), Lieutenant Jacob Borben commander, both belonging to the United South and Ship Company, — did not receive their passports before the 9th of August, and were not ready to sail until late in the autumn. Soon after leaving, they encountered severe storms, and were obliged to put into the Dutch harbor of Medemblik for repairs and fresh provisions, but set out once more in December for their place of destination.

Here they arrived not later than March, 1638, Minuit exercising his discretion as commander of the expedition to direct his course to the River Delaware, with which, under the name of the South River of New Netherland, he had become acquainted during his former sojourn in America. According to Campanius, the colonists first landed on the west side of Delaware Bay, below the Mordare Kil (Murderkill Creek), at a place they called Paradis Udden (Paradise Point), "probably," says he, "because it seemed so grateful and agreeable." They afterward proceeded up the river, and on the 29th of March Minuit concluded a purchase of land from five chiefs of the Minquas (belonging to the great Iroquois race), appropriately rewarding them with articles of merchandise. The territory thus acquired embraced the west shore of the Delaware, from Bomtiens Udden (near Bombay Hook) northward to the River Schuylkill, no limit being assigned towards the interior.[1] At its boundaries Minuit

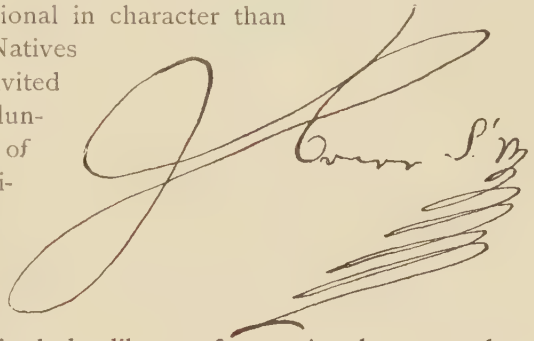
[1] Compare documents printed by Sprinchorn with an examination of Mr. Lamberton by Governor Printz, at Fort Christina, July 10, 1643, in the Royal Archives at Stockholm. Acrelius, misinterpreting a statement in Lewis Evans's *Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America* (Philadelphia, 1755), bounds New Sweden on the west by the Susquehanna River.

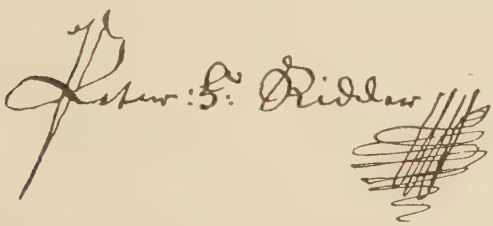
erected posts bearing the insignia of his sovereign, designating the country as NEW SWEDEN, and immediately built a fort, called, in honor of the queen,[1] Christina, at a point of rocks about two miles from the mouth of the Minquas (now Christeen) Creek, to which stream he gave the name of Elbe. Soon after his arrival he despatched "Gripen" to Jamestown, in Virginia, for a cargo of tobacco to carry to Sweden free of duty, — a privilege which the governor declined to grant, out of regard to the instructions of the English king, while the Treasurer of the Province wrote to Sir Francis Windebanke, Principal Secretary to Charles I., suggesting the removal of the Swedes from the neighborhood of the Delaware, which he described as "the confines of Virginia and New England," claiming it as appertaining to his sovereign. The sloop was suffered to remain "ten days, to refresh with wood and water," and then returned to Minuit. Subsequently the Swedish commander sent her up the river for purposes of traffic, when he was summarily challenged by the Dutch at Fort Nassau, a stronghold built in 1623, by Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, at Timber Creek on the east side of the Delaware, which had afterward been abandoned and reoccupied several times, and was then in the possession of traders from New Amsterdam. The actions of Minuit were also reported by the Assistant-Commissary at that place to Willem Kieft, the Director-General of New Netherland, and were in turn communicated by Kieft, in a letter of the 28th of April, to the Directors of the West India Company in Holland, and were made the subject of a formal protest, addressed by Kieft to Minuit, the 6th of May, claiming jurisdiction over the South River for the Dutch. No heed was paid, however, to remonstrances of either Hollanders or English; and Minuit proceeded to improve his fort by building two log-houses in the inclosure for the accommodation of the garrison, while he stocked it plentifully with provisions, leaving a portion of his cargo to be used in barter with the Indians, "all whose peltries," says Governor Kieft, "he had attracted to himself by liberal gifts." The colonists who remained in New Sweden numbered twenty-three men, under the command of Lieutenant Måns Kling (the only Swede expressly named as taking part in this first expedition to the Delaware), who had charge of the military affairs, and Hendrick Huygen, a relative of Minuit, likewise born in Cleves, who was intrusted with the civil and economical duties of the direction. Minuit himself departed for the West Indies, probably in July, on board the "Kalmar Nyckel," having sent "Gripen" thither before him.

[1] A portrait of Queen Christina is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

After disposing of his merchandise, and securing a cargo of tobacco at the Island of St. Christopher, while paying a visit to a Dutch ship lying near by, he perished by the destruction of that vessel in a sudden and violent storm. The "Kalmar Nyckel" had the good fortune to escape, and soon afterward sailed for Sweden, but was forced by November gales to take refuge in a port of Holland; while "Gripen" returned to the Delaware, and, obtaining a load of furs, acquired by traffic with the Indians, set out for Gottenburg, where she arrived at the close of May, 1639.

A second expedition to New Sweden had already been projected, which Queen Christina and the Swedish partners in the South Company determined to render more national in character than that conducted by Minuit. Natives of Sweden were particularly invited to engage in it; and none volunteering to do so, the governors of Elfsborg and Värmland were directed to procure married soldiers who had evaded service or committed some other capital offence, who, with their wives and children, were promised the liberty of returning home at pleasure at the end of one or two years.





Through the zeal of Fleming, the President of the College of Commerce, and his efficient secretary Johan Beier, a number of emigrants were at last assembled at Gottenburg, and put on board the "Kalmar Nyckel," freshly equipped and provided with a new crew by Spiring and Blommaert in Holland, and commanded by a Dutch captain, Cornelis van Vliet, who had been for several years in the Swedish service. The vessel was also to carry out the second governor of New Sweden, Lieutenant Peter Hollender, commissioned July 1, 1639, who was probably, as his name indicates, a Dutchman, and (since he signed himself "Ridder") doubtless a nobleman. The ship sailed in the beginning of autumn, but, springing aleak in the German Ocean, was obliged thrice to return to Holland for repairs, when the captain was finally discharged for dishonesty and negligence, and another, named Pouwel Jansen, was engaged to take his place. At length, on the 7th of February, 1640, the "Kalmar Nyckel" left the Texel, and reached Christina in safety the 17th of the following April.[1]

[1] Either this expedition or the preceding one under Minuit was accompanied by the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, a Swedish Lutheran clergyman, of Öster-Götland. Ten other companions of Minuit or Hollender are mentioned in a footnote to the writer's translation of Professor

How the first settlers had fared since the departure of Minuit, we are unfortunately not informed by them; but it is testified by Governor Kieft that they succeeded in appropriating a large trade with the natives, which "wholly ruined" that of the Dutch. Still, according to the same authority, the arrival of the second colony was singularly opportune, since they had determined to quit the Delaware and remove the very next day to New Amsterdam. Such an intention was of course at once abandoned, and Governor Hollender strengthened his foothold on the river by securing a title from the Indians to the western bank of it as far north as Sankikan (near Trenton Falls), in spite of the protests of the Dutch Commissary, who even fired upon him as he sailed past Fort Nassau. A letter of remonstrance was sent to this officer by the Swedish governor, but his instructions requiring him to deal gently with the Hollanders, and his people being afterward treated by Governor Kieft "with all civility," no serious collisions occurred between the rival nations during his direction of the colony. The "Kalmar Nyckel" was soon made ready for her return voyage, and, sailing in May, arrived in July at Gottenburg.

The constant intercourse of the Swedish authorities with prominent merchants of Amsterdam in founding the Colony of New Sweden had by this time attracted the attention of other Hollanders to the settlement now successfully established, and the liberality of the terms accorded the Swedish company induced Myndert Myndertsen van Horst, of Utrecht, to appeal to Queen Christina for the privilege of planting a Dutch colony within the limits of her territory, after the model of the patroonships of their own West India Company. This favor was conceded in a charter of the 24th of January, 1640, which was transferred by Van Horst to Hendrik Hoochcamer and other fellow-countrymen, granting the right to take up land on both sides of the Delaware, four or five German miles below Christina, to be held hereditarily under the Crown of Sweden, with freedom from taxation for ten years, but subject to the restriction that their trade be carried on in vessels built in New Sweden and confined to Swedish ports, and also assuring liberty for the exercise of their so-called Reformed religion. Simultaneously with the charter, a passport was issued for the ship "Fredenburg," Captain Jacob Powelsen, to carry the emigrants, and a commission for Jost van Bogardt, as Swedish agent in New Sweden, with special authority over this colony. The latter was likewise the leader of the expedition, which was composed chiefly of persons from the province of Utrecht; and he arrived with it at the Delaware on the 2d of November, 1640. The Dutchmen appear to have seated themselves three or four Swedish miles from Christina. So little mention, however, is afterward made of this peculiarly constituted settlement,[1] it seems probable that it soon lost its individuality.

Odhner's "Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, iii. 402, among whom Anders Svenson Bonde, Anders Larsson Daalbo, Peter Gunnarson Rambo, and Sven Gunnarson are the best known in the subsequent history of the colony.

[1] It is only spoken of once in documents still preserved to us, — namely, in the Instructions to

About this time occurred the first attempt on the part of the inhabitants of New England to obtain a foot-hold in New Sweden. Captain Nathaniel Turner is said to have bought land from the Indians "on both sides of Delaware Bay or River," as agent of New Haven, in 1640; and in April, 1641, a similar purchase was made by George Lamberton, also of New Haven, notwithstanding one of the tracts acquired in this manner was comprised within that long before sold by the natives to the Swedish governors, while the other, extending from Cape May to Narraticons Kil (or Raccoon Creek), on the eastern shore of the Delaware, had been conveyed only three days earlier, by the same sachem, to Governor Hollender. Taking advantage of this nugatory title, and in contravention of engagements entered into with Director Kieft, some twenty English families, numbering about sixty persons, settled at Varkens Kil (now Salem Creek, New Jersey), whose "plantations" were pronounced, at a General Court held in New Haven, Aug. 30, 1641, to be "in combination with" that town.

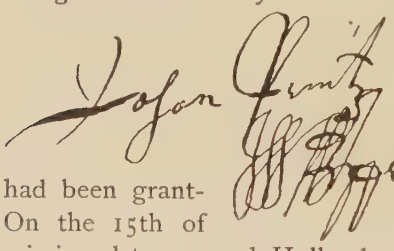
Meanwhile preparations were making in Sweden to send forth a fresh expedition to America. On the 13th of July, 1640, the Governor of Gottenburg was enjoined to persuade families of his province to emigrate, "with their horses and cattle and other personal property." On the 29th the Governor of Värmland and Dal was directed to enlist certain Finns, who had been forced to enter the army as a punishment for violating a royal edict against clearing land in that province by burning forests; and on the 30th the Governor of Örebro was instructed to induce people of the same race, roaming about the mining districts under his jurisdiction, to accompany the rest to the Transatlantic Colony. Lieutenant Måns Kling, who had returned in the "Kalmar Nyckel," was also especially commissioned, on the 26th of the following September, to aid in this work in the mining regions and elsewhere, and particularly to procure homeless Finns, who were living in the woods upon the charity of the settled population of Sweden. In all these mandates the fertility of the new country and the advantages of colonists in it are clearly intimated; and in the last it is declared to be the royal aim that the inhabitants of the kingdom may enjoy the valuable products of that land, increase in commerce and in knowledge of the sea, and enlarge their intercourse with foreign nations. In May, 1641, the people collected by Kling accompanied him on the ship "Charitas" from Stockholm to Gottenburg, where they were joined by the others, who by that time were ready to set forth. On the 20th of February the Government had resolved to buy out the Dutch partners in their enterprise, instructing Spiring to pay them eighteen thousand gulden from the public funds, provided they abandoned all further claims. This, no doubt, was done; and thus the third Swedish expedition to New Sweden sailed under the auspices of a purely Swedish company. It comprised the well-

Governor Printz, Aug. 15, 1642. Bogardt himself is also referred to as "one Bagot," in Beauchamp Plantagenet's *Description of New Albion.*

tried "Kalmar Nyckel" and the "Charitas," and arrived at its place of destination probably in the summer or autumn of 1641.[1]

Nothing is known with regard to New Sweden at this period; but in the spring of 1642 some of the colonists from New Haven, already spoken of, took possession of a tract of land, which they claimed to have purchased of the Indians on the 19th of April, on the west side of the Delaware, extending from Crum Creek a short distance above the Schuylkill, and proceeded to build a trading-house on the latter stream. This attracted the attention of Director Kieft, and on the 22d of May he despatched two sloops from New Amsterdam with instructions to Jan Jansen van Ilpendam, the Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau, to expel the English from the Delaware. His orders were promptly executed; and the settlements on the Schuylkill and (it is said) at Varkens Kil were broken up, partly through the aid of the Swedes, who had agreed with Kieft "to keep out the English," the trespassers being taken to Fort Amsterdam, from whence they were sent home to New Haven. Lamberton, still persisting in trading on the Delaware, was arrested not long afterward at Manhattan, and compelled to give an account of his peltries, and to pay duties on his cargo. According to Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, such "sickness and mortality" prevailed this summer in New Sweden as "dissolved" the plantations of the English, and seriously affected the Swedes.

In Sweden the interest in the little American colony was now at its height; and in July and August, 1642, Spiring was consulted in the Råd and the Räkningekammår upon the question of appropriating the funds of the South and Ship Company for the expenses of another expedition across the ocean. This resulted in the formation of a new company, styled the West India, American, or New Sweden Company, although oftener known as the South Company, with a capital of thirty-six thousand riksdaler, half being contributed by the South and Ship Company, one sixth by the Crown, and the remainder by Oxenstjerna, Spiring, Fleming, and others. To it, also, was transferred the monopoly of the tobacco trade in Sweden, Finland, and Ingermanland, which had been granted to the South Company in 1641. On the 15th of August a third governor was commissioned to succeed Hollender in the direction of New Sweden; namely, Johan Printz, who had taken part in the Thirty Years' War as Lieutenant-Colonel of the West Götha Cavalry, and, after his dismissal from the service for the capitulation of Chemnitz, was engaged in 1641 in procuring emigrants for the colony in Northern Finland. He had been restored



[1] The names of forty-two persons who took part in this expedition are given in a note of the writer in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, iii. 462, *et seq.*, — the most conspicuous of these being Lieutenant Måns Kling, a Swedish Lutheran clergyman called "Herr Christopher," Gustaf Strahl (a young nobleman), Carl Janson (for many years Printz's bookkeeper), Olof Person Stille, and Peter Larsson Cock (afterward civil officers under the Dutch and English).

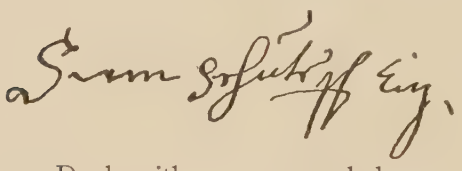
to royal favor and ennobled in July. His "Instructions" were likewise dated Aug. 15, 1642, and were signed by Peter Brahe, Herman Wrangel, Clas Fleming, Axel Oxenstjerna, and Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstjerna, Councillors of the Kingdom and Guardians of Queen Christina, who was still in her minority. They are comprised in twenty-eight articles, endowing him with extensive authority in the administration of justice, and enjoining him to keep the monopoly of the fur-trade, and to pay particular attention to the cultivation of the soil,—especially for the planting of tobacco, of which he was expected to ship a goodly quantity on every vessel returning to Sweden,—as well as to have a care of the raising of cattle, of the obtaining of choice woods, of the growth of the grape, production of silk, manufacture of salt, and taking of fish. He was to maintain the Swedish Lutheran form of religion and education of the young, and treat the Indians "with all humanity," endeavoring to convert them from their paganism, and "in other ways bring them to civilization and good government." His territory was defined to include all that had been purchased of the natives by Minuit and Hollender, extending, on the west side of the Delaware, from Cape Hinlopen[1] northwards to Sankikan, and on the east from Narraticons Kil southwards to Cape May. Over the whole of this region he was commanded to uphold the supremacy of his sovereign, keeping the Dutch colony under Jost van Bogardt to the observance of their charter, and bringing the English settlers under subjection, or procuring their removal, as he deemed best. His relations with the Holland West India Company and their representatives at Manhattan and Fort Nassau were to be friendly but independent, and, in case of hostile encroachments, "force was to be repelled by force." On the 30th of August a budget was adopted for New Sweden, specifying, besides the Governor, a lieutenant, sergeant, corporal, gunner, trumpeter, and drummer, with twenty-four private soldiers, and (in the civil list) a preacher, clerk, surgeon, provost, and executioner, their salaries being estimated at 3,020 riksdaler per annum. Fleming and Beier (this year appointed postmaster-general) had the chief direction of the enterprise, and special factors were designated for the Company's service in Gottenburg and Amsterdam. At length all preparations were completed, and the fourth Swedish expedition to New Sweden, consisting of the ships "Fama" (Fame) and "Svanen" (the Swan), set sail from Gottenburg on the 1st of November, 1642, carrying Printz, with his wife and children, Lieutenant Måns Kling, the Rev. Johan Campanius Holm, and many others, among whom were a number of forest-destroying Finns, sent out as formerly by their respective governors.[2] They pursued the usual course through the

[1] The name given on Lindström's map to the Cape Cornelius of Visscher's and other Dutch maps, which apply the name of Hinlopen to the "false cape," twelve miles farther south, at the mouth of Rehoboth Bay. It corresponds with the present Cape Henlopen.

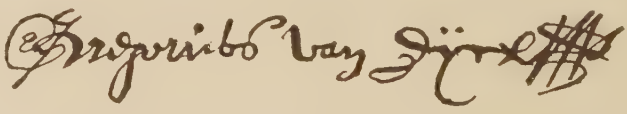
[2] Twenty-three of these are mentioned in a foot-note to the writer's translation of Odhner's work before referred to, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, iii. 409; the most prominent of whom are Sergeant Gregorius van Dyck, Elias Gyllengren, Jacob Svenson, and Jöran Kyn Snöhvit.

English Channel and past the Canary Islands, spending Christmas with the hospitable Governor of Antigua; and, after encountering severe storms, towards the close of January entered Delaware Bay, and on the 15th of February, 1643, landed in safety at Fort Christina.

Unfortunately, the first and very full report of the new governor to the West India Company, dated April 13, 1643, and despatched on the return voyage of the "Fama," appears to have been irrecoverably lost; but in letters addressed the day before and the day after, respectively, to Councillors Peter Brahe and Axel Oxenstjerna, still preserved in Sweden, Printz gives a favorable account of the country and an interesting description of the natives, and earnestly advises the sending out of more emigrants. Soon after his arrival he made a journey through his territory, sailing up the Delaware to Sankikan, and determined to take up his abode on the Island of Tennakong, or Tinicum, situated about fifteen miles above Christina. Here he built himself a house (Printzhof), and erected a fort of heavy logs, armed with four brass cannon, called Nya Göteborg (New Gottenburg), — a name also bestowed on the whole place in a patent from his sovereign of the 6th of the following November, granting it "to him and his lawful issue as a perpetual possession." About twenty emigrants settled on this island, with their families, including Printz's bookkeeper and clerk, with his body-guard and the crew of a little yacht used by the Governor. A redoubt was likewise constructed "after the English plan, with three angles," on the eastern shore, "close to the river," by a little stream now known as Mill Creek, three or four miles below Varkens Kil,



which was named Nya Elfsborg. It was defended by eight brass twelve-pounders, and committed to the charge of Lieutenant Sven Schute and Sergeant Gregorius van Dyck, with a gunner and drummer and twelve or fifteen common soldiers; and was already occupied in October, when a Dutch skipper, carrying David Pieterszen de Vries on his last voyage to the Delaware, was required to strike his



flag in passing the place and give account of his cargo, although the noted patroon was afterward courteously entertained five days at Tinicum by Governor Printz, who bought "wines and sweetmeats" of his captain, and accompanied him on his return as far as Fort Christina. The latter post remained the chief place of deposit of the stores of the colony under Commissary Hendrick Huygen, and was settled by about forty persons and their families, including the Reverend Johan Campanius, a miller, two carpenters, a few sailors and soldiers, and a dozen peasants, who were occupied in the cultivation of tobacco. A tobacco plantation was also formed the same year on the west side of the Delaware, four or

five miles below Tinicum, under the direction of Peter Liljehöck, assisted by an experienced tobacco-grower, specially hired for the service, with a dozen or more husbandmen, and received the name of Upland. About the same time another was begun by Lieutenant Måns Kling, with seven or eight colonists, on the Schuylkill. At first both of these places were destitute of forts, although log houses, strengthened by small stones, were built for the accommodation of the settlers.[1] A large quantity of maize was sown by Printz immediately after his arrival for the sustenance of the colony, but not yielding the results anticipated from certain statements of Governor Hollender, the deficiency was supplied by purchase of some cattle and winter rye at the Island of Manhattan. Provisions were also obtained from Dutch and English vessels which visited the Delaware. During the autumn, rye was planted in three places, and in the following spring some barley, which grew so well, says the Governor, "it was delightful to behold." For greater convenience of communication between the scattered settlements two boats were built by the carpenters, one for the use of Elfsborg, the other for Christina.

Although the instructions to Governor Printz concerning his relations with the English were probably issued in ignorance of the attempt of Kieft to dislodge the latter from the Delaware, the success of the Dutch Director-General does not seem to have been so complete as to render them superfluous. Lamberton still visited the river for purposes of trade, and a few settlers from New Haven yet remained at Varkens Kil. Printz, therefore, "went to the houses" of these English families, and "forced some of them to swear allegiance to the crown of Sweden." He also found opportunity of apprehending Lamberton, and brought him before a tribunal comprising Captains Christian Boije and Måns Kling, Commissaries Huygen and Jansen, and six other persons then on the Delaware, assembled in the name of the Swedish sovereign at Fort Christina, July 10, 1643. Printz met two protests made by the Englishman at his trial, claiming land on both sides of the river in virtue of purchases from the Indians, by showing that the territory in question was embraced in tracts already bought of the savages by Governors Minuit and Hollender. He also proved to the satisfaction of the court that Lamberton had traded with the natives in the vicinity even of Fort Christina without leave and in spite of repeated prohibitions, obtaining a quantity of beaver skins, for which the defendant was required by the tribunal to pay double duty. And, finally, Lamberton was accused by the Governor of bribing the Indians to murder the Swedes and Dutch, — a charge which was supported by several witnesses, who also testified that on the day agreed upon an unusual number of savages had assembled in front of Fort Christina, who were, however, frightened off before they could attain their purpose.

[1] That at the Schuylkill, or a stronghold which superseded it, is mentioned in a report of the Dutch Commissary Hudde as situated "on a very convenient island at the edge of the Kil," identified by Dr. George Smith as Province or State Island, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, which river, says Hudde, "can be controlled by it."

In passing upon this grave indictment, the court preferred to treat the defendant with clemency "on this occasion," and postponed action on the subject. These decisions naturally did not content Lamberton, and at a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, held at Boston September 7, complaint was made by his associates, Governor Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson, of "injuries received from the Dutch and Swedes at Delaware Bay;" when it was "ordered that a letter be written to the Swedish governor, expressing the particulars and requiring satisfaction," to be signed by John Winthrop "as Governor of Massachusetts and President of the Commissioners." This resolution was complied with, and a commission was given to Lamberton "to go treat with" Printz upon the subject, and "to agree with him about settling their trade and plantation" on the Delaware. Winthrop's letter was answered by the Governor of New Sweden, Jan. 12, 1644, with a statement of the facts established at his court already mentioned, and a fresh examination of the matter was instituted on the 16th. This was likewise conducted at Fort Christina, in the presence of the Governor, Captains Boije, Kling, and Turner, Commissary Huygen, Sergeant Van Dyck, Isaac Allerton, and Secretary Carl Janson, and resulted in the exculpation of Printz from the offences charged against him. Copies of these proceedings and of all others relating to the New Haven people were transmitted to a General Court of Massachusetts which met at Boston in March, and Governor Winthrop, in acknowledging the receipt of them in a friendly letter to Governor Printz, promised "a full and particular response at the next meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies." At the same time a fresh commission was issued to Governor Eaton, though "with a *salvo jure*, allowing him to go on with his plantation and trade in Delaware River," accompanied by a copy of the Massachusetts patent, which he desired "to show the Swedish governor." Certain merchants of Boston likewise obtained the privilege of forming a company for traffic in the vicinity of a great lake believed to be the chief source of the beaver trade, which was supposed to lie near the headwaters of the Delaware; and, to carry out their project, despatched a pinnace, well manned and laden, to that river, with a commission "under the public seal," and letters from the Governor of Massachusetts to Kieft and Printz for liberty to pass their strongholds. "This," says Winthrop, "the Dutch promised" to concede, though under "protest;" but "when they came to the Swedes, the fort shot at them ere they came up," obliging them to cast anchor, "and the next morning the Lieutenant came aboard and forced them to fall lower down." On complaint to Governor Printz, the conduct of that officer was repudiated, and instructions were sent to him from Tinicum not to molest the expedition. All further progress was, however, checked by the Dutch agent at Fort Nassau, who showed an order from his Governor not to let them pass that place; and since neither Printz nor Kieft would permit them to trade with the Indians, they returned home "with loss of their voyage." The letter which Printz addressed to Winthrop,

explaining his actions on this occasion, dated at Tinicum, June 29, 1644, is more amiable than truthful; for in the copy sent to the authorities in Sweden the Governor qualifies his intimation that he promoted the undertaking, with the statement that he took care that the Dutch at Fort Nassau brought it to nought, since it was the purpose of the persons who were engaged in it "to build a fort above the Swedish post at Sankikan, to be armed with men and cannon, and appropriate to themselves all the profits of the river." Not less successful was the opposition of the Governor to an attempt to invade his territory by the English knight, Sir Edmund Plowden, who had recently come to America to take possession, in virtue of a grant from King Charles I. of England, of a large tract of land, in which New Sweden was included. For though certain of the retainers of this so-styled "Earl Palatine of New Albion," who had mutinied and left their lord to perish on an island, were apprehended at Fort Elfsborg in May, 1643, and courteously surrendered to him by Printz, the latter refused to permit any vessels trading under his commission to pass up the Delaware, and so "affronted" Plowden that he finally abandoned the river.[1]

The relations between the Swedes and Dutch were seemingly more friendly. "Ever since I came here," says Printz in his Report of 1644, "the Hollanders have shown great amity, particularly their Director at Manhattan, Willem Kieft, who writes to me very frequently, as he has opportunity, telling the news from Sweden and Holland and other countries of Europe; and though at the first he gave me to understand that his West India Company laid claim to our river, on my replying to him with the best arguments at my command, he has now for a long while spared me those inflictions."

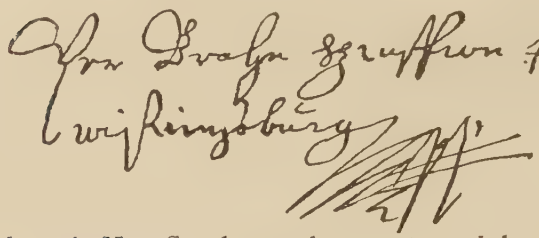
The Indians always exhibited the most amicable dispositions towards the Swedes, partly no doubt through timidity, but at least equally in consequence of the kind treatment habitually shown them by the colonists of that nation. Still, in the spring of 1644, influenced, it is presumed, by the example of their brethren in Virginia and Maryland and the vicinity of Manhattan, who had recently been provoked to fierce hostility against the Dutch and English, some of the savages massacred two soldiers and a laborer between Christina and Elfsborg, and a Swedish woman and her husband (an Englishman) between Tinicum and Upland. Printz, however, immediately assembling his people at Christina to defend themselves from further outrages, the natives "came together," says he, "from all sides, heartily apologizing for, and denying all complicity in, the murderous deeds, and suing earnestly for peace." This was accorded them by the Governor, but "with the menace of annihilation if the settlers were ever again molested." Whereupon a treaty was signed by the sachems, and ratified by the customary interchange of presents, assuring tranquillity for the future and restoring something of the previous mutual confidence.[2]

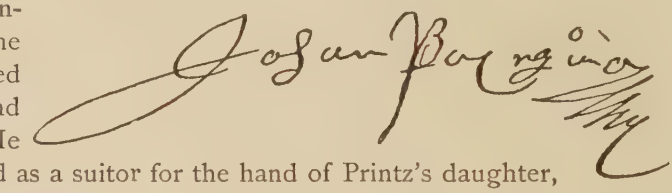
During the six years now elapsed since the founding of New Sweden

[1] [See Professor Keen's paper on New Albion in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] It may be proper to note that the Governor himself does not seem at first to have been satis-

the colonists were compelled to undergo the privations which inevitably attend the first settlement of a wild and untilled country; and the frequent scarcity of food and insufficiency of shelter, combined with the novelty and uncertainty of the climate, and occasional seasons of disease, had the usual effect of diminishing their numbers. Especially fatal was the last summer, that of 1643, when no fewer than seventeen (between six and seven per cent) of the male emigrants died, among these being the Reverend Reorus Torkillus, the first pastor of the colony. The need, therefore, for fresh recruits to take the places of those who proved themselves unequal to the trials of their situation constantly presented itself to the survivors, and ought, surely, to have been appreciated by the authorities in Sweden. Nevertheless, the fifth Swedish expedition to the Delaware, which arrived at Christina on the "Fama,"[1] March 11, 1644, added very little to the numerical strength of the settlement;[2] while, through the carelessness of the agent at Gottenburg, some of the clothing and merchandise was shipped in a damaged condition. The principal emigrant on this occasion was Johan Papegåja, who had already been in New Sweden, and now returned, bearing letters of recommendation to the Governor from his sovereign and from Peter Brahe, President of the Royal Council, in consequence of which he was at once appointed to the chief command at Fort Christina. He was likewise accepted as a suitor for the hand of Printz's daughter, Armgott, and not long afterward became the Governor's son-in-law. Brahe acknowledged the receipt of Printz's letter, before referred to, on the 18th





fied with the sincerity of the aborigines, and, in keeping with his former profession of arms, even appeals in his report of 1644 to the authorities in Sweden for a couple of hundred soldiers to drive the savages from the Delaware, arguing also that the Dutch and English would be more likely to respect rights acquired from the natives not merely by purchase, but also by the sword.

[1] This vessel alone is named in Printz's reports of 1644 and 1647. In a communication, however, of Queen Christina to the Admiralty, of the 12th of August, 1645, and in her Majesty's letter to Captain Berendt Hermanson, of the 8th of the preceding May, preserved in the registry of the Admiralty in the naval archives of Sweden, the "Kalmar Nyckel" is mentioned, with the "Fama," as having made "the voyage to Virginia" under the commander named. On her return this ship met with detention in Holland similar to that incurred by the "Fama," but finally arrived in Sweden with 53,100 pounds of tobacco. So large a cargo certainly was not raised in New Sweden (which place, probably, was not visited by the vessel), and may have been purchased in the English Virginia. For a comment on such practices see an extract from a letter from Directors of the Dutch West India Company in Holland to Director-General Stuyvesant, dated Jan. 27, 1649, a translation of which is printed in *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, xii. 47, 48.

[2] Only five male emigrants who came out on this expedition, beside Papegåja, were living in the colony March 1, 1648; namely, a barber-surgeon, a gunner, two common soldiers, and a young lad.

of August; and congratulating him on his safe arrival at the Delaware he expresses the hope that he will "gain firm foot-hold there, and be able to lay so good a foundation *in tam vasta terra septentrionali*, that with God's gracious favor the whole North American continent may in time be brought to the knowledge of His Son, and become subject to the crown of Sweden." He particularly admonishes the Governor to cultivate friendship with "the poor savages," instructing them, and endeavoring to convert them to Christianity. "Adorn," says he, "your little church and priest after the Swedish fashion, with the usual habiliments of the altar, in distinction from the Hollanders and English, shunning all leaven of Calvinism," remembering that "outward ceremonial will not the less move them than others to sentiments of piety and devotion." He likewise enjoins "the use of the Swedish language in spoken and written discourse, in all its purity, without admixture of foreign tongues. All rivers and streams, forests, and other places should receive old Swedish names, to the exclusion of the nomenclature of the Dutch, which," he has heard, "is taking root. In fine," he adds, "let the manners and customs of the colony conform as closely as possible to those of Sweden." To Printz's reply to this letter we are indebted for the fullest account of the religious rites observed in the settlement which has been preserved to us. "Divine service," says the Governor, "is performed here in the good old Swedish tongue, our priest clothed in the vestments of the Mass on high festivals, solemn prayer-days, Sundays, and Apostles' days precisely as in old Sweden, and differing in every respect from that of the sects around us. Sermons are delivered Wednesdays and Fridays, and on all other days prayers are offered in the morning and afternoon; and since this cannot be done everywhere by our sole clergyman, I have appointed a lay-reader for each place, to say prayers daily, morning and evening, and dispose the people to godliness. All this," he continues, "has long been witnessed by the savages, some of whom we have had several days with us, attempting to convert them; but they have watched their chance, and invariably run off to rejoin their pagan brethren," — a statement not inconsistent with the testimony of Campanius, who admits that, although his grandfather held many conversations with the Indians, and translated the Swedish Lutheran catechism into their language[1] for their instruction in Christian doctrine, no more definite result was reached than to convince them of the relative superiority of the religion thus expounded.

In the course of three months a cargo was obtained for the return voyage of the "Fama," consisting of 2,142 beaver skins, 300 of which were from the Schuylkill, and 20,467 pounds of tobacco, part being bought in

[1] Printed at Stockholm in 1696, under the title of *Lutheri Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket*, followed by a *Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum*, reproduced by the author's grandson in his *Kort Beskrifning om Nya Sverige*. A copy of it is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Concerning it, see particularly Acrelius's *Beskrifning*, p. 423. [Cf. *Brinley Catalogue*, nos. 5,698–99; Sabin's *Dictionary*, x. 42,726; *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, no. 1,427; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, ii. no. 1,498; and Muller, *Books on America* (1872), no. 1,562, where errors of Brunet and Leclerc are pointed out. — Ed.]

Virginia, while the rest was raised by the Swedes and their English neighbors at Varkens Kil, Printz allowing a higher price for this, to encourage the cultivation of the plant and to induce immigration to New Sweden. The Governor also freighted the vessel with 7,300 pounds on his personal account. Five of the colonists embraced this opportunity to go back to Sweden, among whom were Captain Boije, the clergyman "Herr Israel," and a barber-surgeon. The "Fama" set sail on the 20th of June, and reached Europe in the autumn, but putting into a Dutch harbor to revictual was detained there pending a long controversy as to the payment of duty between Peter Spiring, then Swedish Resident at the Hague, and the States-General, and did not arrive at Gottenburg till May, 1645.

At the date of Governor Printz's second Report to the Swedish West India Company, which was sent home by the "Fama," the colonists in New Sweden numbered ninety men, besides women and children. About half of these were employed, at stipulated wages, in the discharge of various civil and military functions on behalf of the Crown and Company. The "freemen" (*frimännen*) — so called because they had settled in the colony entirely of their own will, and might leave it at their option — held land granted them in fee, temporarily not taxed, which they cultivated for themselves, being aided also by the Company with occasional gifts of money, food, and raiment. Persons who had been compelled to immigrate, as elsewhere stated, in punishment for offences committed by them in Sweden, were required to till ground reserved to the Company, which fed and clothed them, or to perform other work, at the discretion of the Governor, for a few years, when they were admitted to the privileges of freemen, or assigned duty in the first class above mentioned.

In the autumn of 1644 a bark was sent by the merchants of Boston to trade in the Delaware, which passed the winter near the English plantation at Varkens Kil, and the following spring fell down the bay, and in three weeks secured five hundred skins of the Indians on the Maryland side. Just as the vessel was about to leave, she was treacherously boarded by some of the savages, who rifled her of her goods and sails, killing the master and three men, and taking two prisoners, who were brought six weeks afterward to Governor Printz, and were returned by him to New England.

On the 25th of November, 1645, a grievous calamity befell the colony in the burning of New Gottenburg, which was set on fire, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, by a gunner, who was tried and sentenced by Printz, and subsequently sent to Sweden for punishment. "The whole place was consumed," says the Governor, "in a single hour, nought being rescued but the dairy;" the loss to the Company amounting to four thousand riksdaler. "The people escaped, naked and destitute; but the winter immediately setting in with great severity, and the river and creeks freezing, they were cut off from communication with the mainland," and barely avoided starvation until relief arrived in March. Printz continued, however, to reside at Tin-

icum, and soon rebuilt a storehouse, to receive "provisions and cargoes to be sold on behalf of the Company." He also erected a church upon the island, "decorating it," says he, "so far as our resources would permit, after the Swedish fashion," which, with its adjoining burying-ground, was consecrated by Campanius, Sept. 4, 1646.

In the summer of the same year occurred the first outbreak of the jealousy which had existed from the beginning between the Swedes and Hollanders, however well it may have been concealed, especially during the need of concerted action against their common rival the English. On the 23d of June a sloop arrived at Fort Nassau with a cargo from Manhattan, to trade with the Indians, and was directed by Andries Hudde, the Dutch commissary who had succeeded Jan Jansen, "to go into the Schuylkill." She was immediately commanded by the Swedes to leave the place, — an order which was repeated to Hudde, and reiterated the next day by Campanius. The result was a conference between the Dutch commissary and Commissary Huygen, Sergeant Van Dyck, and Carl Janson, on behalf of Printz; which was followed on the 1st of July by so menacing an admonition from the Governor, that Jurriaen Blanck the supercargo, fearing his vessel and goods might be confiscated, felt constrained to yield, and abandoned his enterprise. Soon afterward Hudde was prevented from executing a commission of Director Kieft, to search for minerals at Sankikan, through the opposition of the Indians, prompted by a report of the warlike intentions of the Hollanders circulated among the savages by Printz. And when, in September, in obedience to instructions from Manhattan, the Dutch commissary purchased from the natives land on the "west shore" of the Delaware, "distant about one league to the north of Fort Nassau" (within the limits of the present city of Philadelphia), and erected the arms of his West India Company upon it, these were pulled down "in a hostile manner," on the 8th of October, by Commissary Huygen, and a protest against his action was delivered to him on the 16th by Olof Stille and Mans Slom, on the part of the Swedish governor. The latter likewise forbade his people to have any dealings with the Hollanders, and treated a counter-protest, sent to him by Hudde on the 23d, with such contempt as effectually completed the rupture.

It was now two years and three months since the "Fama" left the Delaware, during the whole of which time no letters were received in the colony either from Sweden or from Holland. This apparent neglect of her offspring by the mother country was accounted for by Chancellor Oxenstjerna through the occurrence of the war with Denmark, which absorbed the attention of the Government and cost the life of Admiral Fleming, who had been the chief administrator of the interests of the settlement. Not until the 1st of October, 1646, did the sixth Swedish expedition arrive in

New Sweden, on the ship "Gyllene Hajen" (the Golden Shark), after a tempestuous voyage of four months, in which the vessel lost her sails, topmasts, and other rigging, and the crew almost to a man fell sick. Few, if any, emigrants came out on this voyage; but the cargo was valuable, comprising cloth, iron implements, and other goods, which supplied the needs of the settlers, with something to spare for sale in New England. Printz was also enabled to revive his languishing trade with the Indians. He "immediately despatched Commissary Hendrick Huygen, with Sergeant Gregorius van Dyck and eight soldiers, to the country of the Minquas, distant five German miles, who presented the savages with divers gifts, and induced them to agree to traffic with the Swedes as formerly, particularly," says the Governor, "as the Commissary promised them higher prices than they could get from the Hollanders." On the 20th of February, 1647, the vessel sailed on her return, carrying 24,177 pounds of tobacco, of which 6,920 pounds were raised on the Delaware, while the rest was purchased elsewhere. Lieutenant Papegåja went home in her, commissioned to execute some private behests of the colonists, and to present the Governor's third Report to the Swedish West India Company.

In the document referred to, dated at New Gottenburg the day "Gyllene Hajen" left, Printz gives a very satisfactory account of the settlement, which, he says, at that time numbered one hundred and eighty-three souls. "The people," he adds, "have always enjoyed good health, only two men and two young children having died" since the second Report. "Twenty-eight freemen were settled, and beginning to prosper; many more being willing to follow their example if they could be spared from the fortified posts." Of these, Fort Elfsborg had been considerably strengthened; Fort Christina, which was quite decayed, repaired from top to bottom; and Fort Nya Korsholm, on the Schuylkill, was nearly ready for use. This last was doubtless the structure called by Campanius "Manaijung, Skörkilen,"[1]— "a fine little fort of logs, filled in with sand and stones, and surrounded by palisades with sharp points at the top." "I have also built," says Printz, "on the other side of Korsholm, by the path of the Minquas, a fine house called Wasa,[2] capable of defence against the savages by four or five men; and seven stout freemen have settled there. And a quarter of

[1] Campanius, to be sure, mentions "Korsholm" as a distinct fort, but he does so in terms which show that he is citing Lindström, who speaks of it as on territory granted to Sven Schute, embracing "Passajungh, Kinsessingh, Mockorhuttingh, and the land on both sides of the Schylekijl to the river" Delaware, and makes no reference to a "Fort Skörkil." The statements with regard to the latter were probably drawn from the manuscripts of his grandfather. It did not occur to him, I suppose, that the places might be identical. "Gripsholm" is the name incorrectly given for "Korsholm" by N. J. Visscher and later Dutch cartographers.

[2] At "Chinsessingh" (the Indian name of the land west of the Schuylkill), says Campanius, — "the New Fort," so called, which "was no fort, but a good log-house, built of strong hickory, two stories high, and affording sufficient protection against the Indians." If the interpretation usually given to the dates of Hudde's report already cited be correct, both Wasa and Mölndal were occupied by Printz before November, 1645. The latter post was at a "place called by the Indians Kakarikonck" or "Karakung," near where the present road from Philadelphia to Darby crosses Cobb's Creek.

a mile farther up the same Indian highway I have erected another strong house, settling five freemen in the vicinity, — this place receiving the name of Mölndal, from a water-mill I have had constructed, which runs the whole year, to the great advantage of the country; especially," adds he, "as the windmill, which was here before I came, was good for nothing, and never would work." Both of these posts the natives were obliged to pass in going to Fort Nassau; and the Swedish governor hoped, by storing them with merchandise for barter, to intercept the traffic with the Dutch. Printz insists upon the need of getting rid of the latter, accusing them of ruining his trade, and supplying the savages with ammunition, and inciting them against the Swedes. "The English Puritans," he continues, "who gave me a great deal of trouble at first, I have been able finally to drive away; and for a long time have heard nothing from them, except that last year Captain Clerk, through his agent from New England, attempted to settle some hundred families here under our flag, which I civilly declined to permit until further instructed in the matter by her Majesty." The Governor earnestly solicits the sending of more people from Sweden, particularly "families to cultivate the country," artisans and soldiers, "and, above all, unmarried women as wives for the unmarried freemen and others." He likewise mentions the names of several officers who wished to be allowed to return home, and desires himself to be relieved, especially as he had been in New Sweden more than a year and a half beyond the term agreed upon.

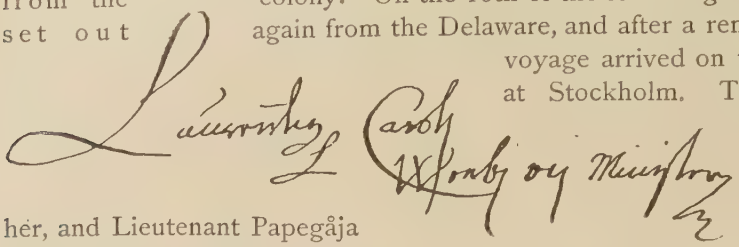
Printz's Report and Papegåja's representations seem to have hastened the sending of another vessel to the Delaware, for on the 25th of September, 1647, the seventh expedition sailed from Gottenburg on "Svanen," Captain Steffen Willemsen. Papegåja returned on the ship, bearing a letter of commendation from Queen Christina to Governor Printz, promising to consider a request of the latter for augmentation of his salary and a grant of "seventy farms,"[1] but requiring him to remain in the colony until his place could be supplied.

A great deal of the ammunition asked for by the Governor was sent out on this vessel, but very few emigrants,[2] — a circumstance which was explained, in a communication from Chancellor Oxenstjerna in reply to Printz's Report, by the near approach of winter. Action was likewise taken some months later by the Crown making good the deficiency of the South Company through payment of the salaries of its officers in New Sweden, — a burden which had been temporarily assumed by it in consequence of the misappropriations, as well as insufficiency, of the tobacco excises which had been granted towards that object by statute of

[1] The expression used in Oxenstjerna's reply to Printz's Report referred to in the next sentence. Printzdorp, on the west side of the river Delaware, south of Upland, was doubtless granted to Printz in accordance with this petition.

[2] The only one residing in New Sweden March 1, 1648, was the Reverend Lars Carlson Lock. Sprinchorn also mentions another Swedish Lutheran clergyman, "Israel Fluviander, — Printz's sister's son," who probably died or returned home in the spring.

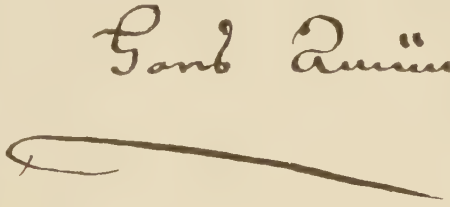
the 30th of August, 1642. And by the same royal letter, dated Jan. 20, 1648, merchandise coming from Holland for transportation to New Sweden was freed from duty, as also tobacco and furs which arrived in the kingdom from the colony. On the 16th of the following May "Svanen" set out again from the Delaware, and after a remarkably quick voyage arrived on the 3d of July at Stockholm. The clergyman Johan Campanius Holm returned in her, and Lieutenant Papegåja wrote to Chancellor Oxenstjerna, begging the favor of a position in Sweden, since the people in New Sweden were too inconsiderable for him to be of any service to the company where he was, and "the country was troublesome to defend, both on account of the savages and of the Christians, who inflict upon us," says he, "every kind of injury."



This complaint is evidently directed against the Hollanders, who now began to strengthen their position on the Delaware. Willem Kieft, so amiably pacific in his comportment towards the Swedes, was superseded in the government of New Netherland in May, 1647, by Peter Stuyvesant, — a man of arbitrary and warlike character, who declared it to be his intention to regard as Dutch territory not only New Sweden, but all land between Cape Henlopen and Cape Cod. Meanwhile, Governor Printz persisted in a haughty demeanor towards the Dutch, continuing to impede or prevent their navigation of the "South River," and he is charged with inciting suspicion of his rivals among both Indians and Christians, — actions which were protested against by Stuyvesant, to whom the Swedish governor made a reply which was transmitted to Manhattan by Commissary Hudde in December. During the winter Printz collected a great quantity of logs for the purpose of erecting more buildings at the Schuylkill; and when in the spring Hudde, instigated by the natives, constructed a fort called Beversrede at Passajung, Lieutenant Kling opposed the work, and ordered his men, some twenty-four in number, to cut down the trees around the spot. On news of this, and in consequence of a complaint of the Directors of the Dutch West India Company that the limits between the Swedes, English, and Hollanders were still unsettled, Councillors Lubbertus van Dincklagen and Johannes la Montagne, despatched by Stuyvesant on that mission in June, procured from the natives confirmation of a grant of land on the Schuylkill made to Arendt Corssen on behalf of the Dutch in 1633, and, visiting New Gottenburg, protested before the Governor against the actions of the Swedes. No attention was paid to this, however, and houses which two Dutchmen immediately began to build upon the tract were destroyed by Printz's son (Gustaf Printz) and Sergeant Van Dyck. In September the Governor caused a house to be built within a dozen feet of Fort Beversrede, and directly between it and the river, while Lieutenant

Sven Schute prevented the construction of houses by the Hollanders in November. Another Dutchman obtained permission from Director-General Stuyvesant to settle on the east side of the Delaware, at Mantaes Hoeck (near the present Mantua Creek, New Jersey), and solicited the aid of Governor Printz in carrying out his purpose. This was promised him, provided he acknowledged the jurisdiction of that officer; but, fearing some advantage might be taken of the concession by the Hollanders, Printz immediately bought from the Indians the land between this place and Narraticons Kil, which constituted the northern boundary of the purchase of Governor Hollender, and erected the Swedish arms upon it. According to Hudde, the Governor of New Sweden likewise endeavored to acquire from the natives territory about Fort Nassau, more completely to isolate that place from intercourse with Manhattan, but was anticipated by the Dutch, who secured it for themselves in April, 1649.

Meanwhile, in the mother country an expedition was preparing, which but for its untimely fate would have furnished the colony with such ample means of security and self-defence as might very probably have postponed or even altogether prevented the ultimate subjugation of the latter by the Hollanders. On the 24th of March, 1649, Queen Christina issued orders to the College of the Admiralty to equip the "Kalmar Nyckel," then lying at Gottenburg, for the projected voyage across the ocean; and finding it would take too long to get her ready, on the 13th of April her Majesty authorized the substitution of the ship "Kattan" (the Cat), under the command of Captain Cornelius Lucifer. A certain Hans Amundson Besk was appointed leader of this, the eighth, Swedish expedition to New Sweden, which comprised his wife and five children, and sixty-three other emigrants, including a clergyman, clerk, and barber-surgeon, many mechanics, and some soldiers, with sixteen unmarried women, designed no doubt as wives for the earlier settlers. The fact that three hundred Finns applied for the privilege of joining the party showed there was no lack of voluntary colonists. The cargo embraced implements of every sort, and a large quantity of the materials of war,—"two six-pounder brass cannon, two three-pounder, twelve six-pounder, and two four-pounder iron cannon, powder, lead, grenades, muskets, pistols," and so forth, besides rigging for a ship to be built on the Delaware. The vessel sailed on the 3d of July from Gottenburg, and arrived in safety at the West Indies, where, through the carelessness of the captain, on the 26th of August she struck a rock near an island fourteen miles from Porto Rico. When ready to set out afresh, the emigrants were pillaged by the inhabitants, who were Spaniards, and were taken to the latter place, where certain of them permanently settled, while others contrived in the course of one or two years



to get back to Sweden. Eighteen, only, determined to continue their voyage to the Delaware, leaving Porto Rico with that intention in a little bark which they were able to purchase, May 1, 1651. They were seized the very next day, however, by a frigate, which carried them to Santa Cruz, then in the possession of France, where they were most barbarously treated by the Governor and his people. In a few weeks all died but five, who were taken off by a Dutch vessel, of whom a single survivor finally reached Holland. Commander Amundson and his family were sent by the Governor of Porto Rico to Spain, where they arrived in July of the same year, and whence they afterward proceeded to Amsterdam, and at last returned to Sweden.

This expedition, therefore, effected nothing for the colonists on the Delaware, who must have been greatly depressed by the news of its calamities. This reached them, through a letter of Director-General Stuyvesant to Commissary Hudde, on the 6th of August, 1650 (N. S.).[1] Printz immediately wrote by a Dutch vessel to Peter Brahe, referring to the report, and giving some account of the settlement since the departure of "Svanen," two years and three months before. "Most of the people," says he, "are alive and well. They are generally supplied with oxen and cattle, and cultivate the land with assiduity, sowing rye and barley, and planting orchards of delicious fruit, and would do better if all had wives and servants. Last year the crops were particularly excellent, our freemen having a hundred tuns of grain to sell. In short, the governor who relieves me will find his position as good as any similar one in Sweden. I have taken possession of the best places, and still hold them. Notwithstanding repeated acts and protests of the Dutch, nothing whatever has been accomplished by them; and where, on several occasions, they attempted to build within our boundaries, I at once threw down their work: so that, if the new governor brings enough people with him, they will very soon grow weary and disgusted, like the Puritans, who were most violent at first, but now leave us entirely in peace. This year, however, they had all the trade, since we received no cargoes; and so long as this is the case we must entertain some fear of the savages, although as yet we have experienced no hostility from them." Further details as to the condition of the colony were to be orally communicated to the authorities in Sweden by Lieutenant Sven Schute, who was sent home for that purpose. Printz earnestly renewed his appeal to be released, urging his age and great feebleness, and recalling the services he had rendered to his country during the past thirty years.

So determined had been the opposition of the Governor to the encroachments of the Hollanders, that the Directors of the Dutch West India Company now began to think of applying to Queen Christina for a settlement

[1] Corresponding, of course, to July 27, O. S. The materials of this narrative being almost entirely derived from Swedish sources, the dates have not been altered from the Julian calendar, which was still used in Sweden. The news referred to in the text was brought by Augustine Herman, who had dealings with Governor Printz upon the Delaware, and for some account of whom see the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, iv. 100 *et seq.*

of limits between the rival jurisdictions, — a purpose they communicated to the Director-General of New Netherland in a letter of the 21st of March, 1651, meantime requiring him, however, to "endeavor to maintain the rights of the Company in all justice and equity." In accordance with these instructions, and in consequence, it is likely, of Printz's fresh interference in the spring with operations of the Dutch in the neighborhood of Fort Beversrede and on an island in the Schuylkill, the energetic Stuyvesant despatched "a ship, well manned and equipped with cannon," from New Amsterdam, which made her appearance at the mouth of the Delaware on the 8th of the following May, and "dropping anchor half a (Swedish) mile below Fort Christina, closed the river to navigation of all vessels, large and small." She was, to be sure, soon forced to withdraw by an armed yacht made ready by Printz; but her captain sending tidings of his situation to Manhattan, on the 25th of June Stuyvesant himself came overland, with a hundred and twenty men, being joined at Fort Nassau by eleven sail (including four well-furnished ships), and after proceeding up and down the river several times, with demonstrations of hostility, finally landed two hundred of his soldiers at a place on the west bank between Forts Christina and Elfsborg, called Sandhoeck (near New Castle, Delaware), where he built a small fort, to which he gave the name of Casimir. He likewise cut down the Swedish boundary posts, and sought by threats to compel the

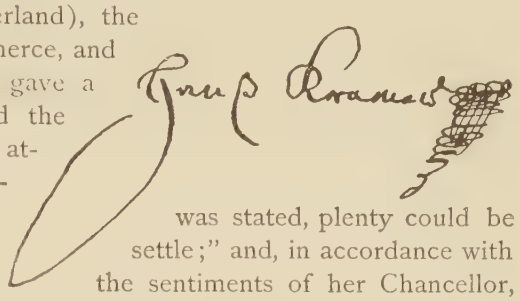
VISSCHER'S MAP, 1651.[1]

[1] This is an extract from Visscher's map as given by Campanius, and the date is fixed from the presence on it of Fort Casimir (built that year) and Fort Elfsborg (abandoned that year). The name above the latter one is a manuscript addition in the copy used in the reproduction. It is also reproduced in Dr. Egle's *Pennsylvania*, p. 43.

freemen to acknowledge the rule of the Hollanders. Abandoning and razing Fort Nassau, because of its less convenient position (too far up the stream), he stationed two men-of-war at his new fort, and collected toll of foreign vessels, even plundering and detaining several Virginia barques on account of duty demanded on their traffic in New Sweden for the previous four years. Printz was not strong enough to resist these acts by force; but when the Dutch director-general found some Indians ready to deny the rights of the Swedes, and even to undertake to sell to him the territory which he had seized, the Governor held a meeting on the 3d of July at Elfsborg with the heirs of the sachem who had conveyed to Governor Minuit the land between Christina and Bomtiens Udden, embracing the site of Fort Casimir, and obtained a confirmation of that grant, with a denial of the title of the savages who disposed of it to Stuyvesant. A protest was addressed to the latter from New Gottenburg on the 8th, claiming this region as well as that above Christina to Sankikan, and appealing for observance of "the praiseworthy alliance between her Royal Majesty of Sweden and the High and Mighty States-General." Similar conferences were likewise held at New Gottenburg on the 13th and the 16th of the same month, resulting in still more explicit recognition, on the part of the natives, of the right of the Swedes to the territory on the Delaware; but neither this action of the savages nor a personal visit of Printz produced any effect on the Dutch director-general, although, it is said, at his departure the rival governors mutually promised to maintain "neighborly friendship and correspondence," and to "refrain from hostile or vexatious deeds against each other." The Governor of New Sweden related these events in letters of the 1st of August to Chancellor Oxenstjerna and Councillor Brahe, saying that he had been obliged to abandon all save his three principal posts (New Gottenburg, Nya Korsholm, and Christina), which he had strengthened and reinforced. In other respects the colony had prospered, reaping "very fine harvests at all the settlements, besides obtaining delicious crops of several kinds of fruit" that year. "Nothing is needed," he adds, "but a much larger emigration of people, both soldiers and farmers, whom the country is now amply able to sustain."

Although the Director-General of New Netherland had informed Printz that his invasion of New Sweden was authorized by the States of Holland, this was not precisely true; and the Directors of the Dutch West India Company, in a letter of the 4th of April, 1652, expressed considerable surprise at the boldness of his action, fearing it might be resented by her Swedish Majesty. The subject was, in fact, discussed by the Royal Council of Sweden on the 18th of March, when "the Queen declared it to be her opinion that redress might fairly be required of the States-General, and the Chancellor of the Kingdom deemed the question well worthy of deliberation." Two days before, also, a consultation was held on the condition of New Sweden, at which were present, by special summons, Postmaster-General Beier (who, since the death of Admiral Fleming, acted as superin-

tendent of the enterprise in Sweden), the book-keeper Hans Kramer (a zealous co-operator in the work), Henrik Gerdtson (only known as having been a resident of New Netherland), the assessor in the College of Commerce, and finally Lieutenant Schute, who gave a good report of the colony and the resources of the country, and attested the need of a greater number of emigrants. Of these, it was stated, plenty could be found "willing to go forth and settle;" and, in accordance with the judgment of the Queen and the sentiments of her Chancellor, it was resolved to commit the undertaking for the future to the care of the College of Commerce, and to order the Admiralty to prepare a vessel for another expedition to the Delaware. A few days later a ship was designated by her Majesty, namely, "Svanen," but more than a whole year elapsed before the final execution of the project.



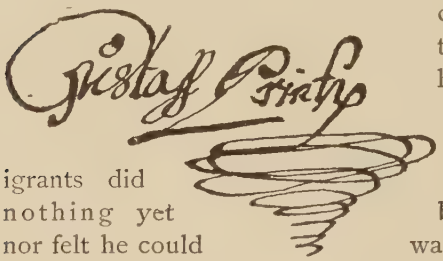
The situation of the colony, meanwhile, awakened great anxiety in the mind of the Governor. Not since the arrival of "Svanen," between four and five years before, had any message or letter been received from Sweden, and the emigrants naturally began to fear that they had been abandoned by their sovereign. Some of them, therefore, left the country, while others were disposed to do so on a more favorable opportunity. According to a letter from Printz to Chancellor Oxenstjerna, dated Aug. 30, 1652, forty Dutch families had settled on the east side of the Delaware, although, like the rest of their compatriots in New Sweden, they were miserably provided for the pursuit of agriculture, and could only sustain themselves by traffic with the savages. In the latter particular, however, both Hollanders and English had great advantages over the Swedes, who having no cargoes of their own were forced to buy merchandise for barter of their rivals at double prices, or entirely lose their trade. This year, unfortunately, "the water spoiled the grain;" still, says Printz, the country "was in tolerably good condition, the freemen, with their cattle and other possessions, doing well, and the principal places being occupied and fortified as usual." A vessel also had been built, of ninety or a hundred läster,[1] and was only waiting for sails and rigging, and some cannon, which cost too dear to purchase there. On the 26th of April, 1653, the Governor again wrote to the Chancellor, saying, —

"The people yet living and remaining in New Sweden, men, women, and children, number altogether two hundred souls. The settled families do well, and are supplied with cattle. The country yields a fair revenue. Still the soldiers and others in the Company's service enjoy but a very mean subsistence, and consequently seek opportunity every day to get away, whether with or without leave, having no expectation of any release, as it is now five years and a half since a letter was received from home.

[1] Something over two hundred tons.

The English trade, from which we used to obtain a good support, is at an end, on account of the war with Holland; while the fur-trade yields no profit, particularly now that hostilities have broken out between the Arrigahaga and Susquehanna Indians, from whom the beavers were procured. The Hollanders have quit all their places on the river except Fort Casimir, where they have settled about twenty-six families. To attempt anything against them with our present resources, however, would be of no avail. More people must be sent over from Sweden, or all the money and labor hitherto expended on this undertaking, so well begun, is wasted. We have always been on peaceful terms with the natives so long as our cargoes lasted, but whenever these gave out their friendship has cooled; for which reason, as well as for the sustenance of our colonists, we have been compelled to purchase a small cargo, by drawing a bill to be paid in Holland, which we expect to discharge by bartering half of the goods for tobacco."

Finally, on the 14th of July, Governor Printz wrote once more to Brahe concerning a speculation of the Dutch and English for supplying tobacco for Sweden, through the aid of a Virginia merchant sailing under a Swedish commission; and, to give further weight to his appeals on behalf of the colony, he sent home his son, Gustaf Printz, who had been a lieutenant in the settlement since 1648. The situation of the emigrants did not improve during the summer; and nothing yet being heard from Sweden, the Governor felt he could wait no longer, and determined to leave the country. When this resolution became known, some of the Swedes were inclined to remove to Manhattan and put themselves under the protection of Stuyvesant; but being refused permission by the Director-General until instructions should come from Holland, they seem to have abandoned the project. Before taking his departure, Printz promised the inhabitants that he would either himself return in ten months or send back a vessel and cargo, and appointed in his place, as Vice-Governor of the Colony, his son-in-law Johan Papegåja. In company with his wife and Hendrick Huygen, and some others of the settlers, he left the Delaware in the beginning of October, and, crossing the ocean in a Dutch vessel, by the 1st of December reached Rochelle, from whence he went to Holland early in 1654, and in April of that year at last arrived in Sweden.

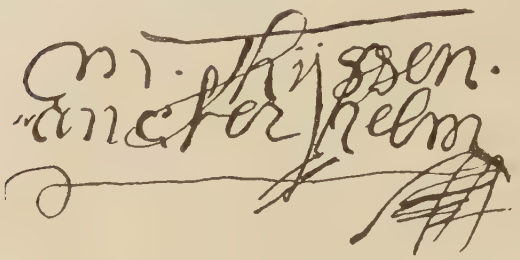


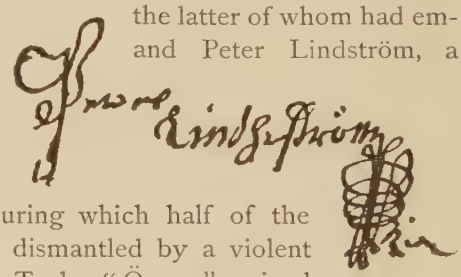
The reiterated appeals of Governor Printz to his superiors had begun at length to produce their effect, and Aug. 13, 1653, Queen Christina ordered the Admiralty to equip the ship "Vismar" for the expedition to New Sweden which had been projected (and for which "Svanen" had been selected) the previous year. Three hundred persons were to take part in it, and rigging was to be procured for the vessel which had been built on the Delaware. The same day, also, the College of War was enjoined to supply ammunition for the defence of the settlement. The College of Commerce, which was now fully organized, had, by her Majesty's desire,

assumed the direction of the colony, and the honor of restoring and actively conducting its affairs belongs to the President of that College, Erik, son of Axel, Oxenstjerna. On the 25th of August Sven Schute was commanded to enrol fifty soldiers as emigrants, preferring such as possessed mechanical skill, sending them to Stockholm, besides two hundred and fifty persons, including some women, to be obtained in the forests of Värmland and Dal. Instead of the "Vismar," the ship "Örnen" (the Eagle) was supplied by the Admiralty, which was ready to receive her cargo by autumn, and was put under the command of Johan Bockhorn, the mate of the ill-fated "Kattan;" while the West India Company fitted out "Gyllene Hajen," which had borne the sixth expedition to New Sweden, to be commanded by Hans Amundson, who, as Captain of the Navy, was to superintend the construction of vessels and have charge of the defences of the colony. Schute was to accompany the expedition as "Captain in the country, and particularly over the emigrants to be sent out on 'Örnen,'" both he and Amundson having been granted patents for land on the Delaware.[1] Not aware that Printz had already left New Sweden, the Queen wrote a letter, December 12, permitting him to come home, but deprecating his doing so until arrangements could be made in regard to his successor; and the same day Johan Claesson Rising, the Secretary of the College of Commerce, was appointed Commissary and Assistant-Councillor to the Governor, at an annual salary of twelve hundred daler-silfver, besides receiving fifteen hundred daler-silfver for the expenses of his voyage, with the privilege of resuming his position in the College if he returned to Sweden. He was also granted as much land in New Sweden as he could cultivate with twenty or thirty peasants, and received a Memoir from his sovereign, as well as Instructions from the College of Commerce, in twenty-four articles, signed by Erik Oxenstjerna and Christer Bonde on the 15th, prescribing his duties in the colony. He was to aid Printz in the administration of justice and the promotion of agriculture, trade, fishing, and so forth; and to endeavor to extend the settlement, encouraging the immigration of worthy neighbors of

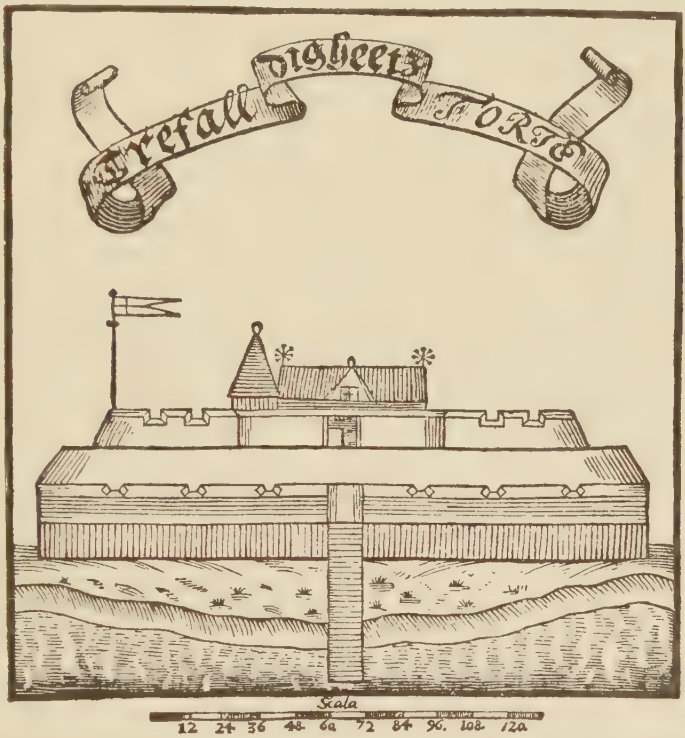
[1] A certified copy of Amundson's patent, with the REGIS REGNIQUE CANCELLARIÆ SIGILLUM of the period attached to it, is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In view of conflicting interests of the West India Company, adverse claims of other colonists, and the opposition of an Indian proprietor of Passajung, Rising declined to sanction the occupation of these tracts without further orders from Sweden.

other nations. The Dutch were to be peacefully removed from Fort Casimir and the vicinity, if possible, care being taken that the English did not obtain a foothold on the Delaware; and a fort might be built, if needed, at the mouth of the river. On the way to America another commission was to be executed by Captain Amundson, in obtaining from the Spaniards at Porto Rico compensation for "Kattan." The final preparations for the departure of the ninth expedition to New Sweden were made under the directions of the book-keeper Hans Kramer, in Stockholm, and Admiral Thijssen Anckerhelm at Gottenburg, where "Örnen" remained for several months awaiting the arrival of "Gyllene Hajen" from the capital. This did not occur, however, until the close of January, 1654; and the ship having met with such disasters at Öresund as necessitated her stopping for repairs before she could continue her journey, "Örnen" was forced to sail alone. On the 27th of that month the emigrants, numbering (with women and children) three hundred and fifty souls, swore allegiance to their sovereign and to the West India Company, and on February 2 weighed anchor for the Delaware. No fewer than a hundred families, who had sold all their property in expectation of uniting in the expedition, were obliged to stay behind for lack of room. Besides Commissary Rising and Captain Schute, Elias Gyllengren, who had accompanied Governor Printz to New Sweden, sailed on this vessel, with the commission of lieutenant. Two Lutheran clergymen, Petrus Hjort and Matthias Nertunius, the latter of whom had embarked on the unfortunate "Kattan," and Peter Lindström, a military engineer, from whose letters, journal, and maps we derive much information concerning the Swedish colony, likewise were of the company. After a very adventurous voyage, during which half of the travellers fell sick, and the ship was dismantled by a violent hurricane, and nearly captured by the Turks, "Örnen" arrived on the 18th of May in Delaware Bay, and two days afterward at Fort Elfsborg, now deserted and in ruins. On the 21st she cast anchor off Fort Casimir, then in charge of Gerrit Bikker and a dozen Dutch soldiers. Although in the general instructions of his superiors Rising was cautioned against engaging in hostilities with the Hollanders, such was not the personal counsel of Axel Oxenstjerna; and a letter of Erik Oxenstjerna, dated Jan. 18, 1654, expresses the opinion that the present was "an opportunity for action which it were culpable to neglect." This probably accounts for the energy exhibited by the Commissary in inaugurating his administration of the affairs of the colony; for, immediately on reaching the Dutch





post, he sent Captain Schute with twenty soldiers to demand the surrender of the garrison. Not receiving a satisfactory reply, the Captain ordered Lieutenant Gyllengren to enter the place, where the latter soon triumphantly displayed the Swedish flag. The stronghold was named anew from the day of its capture (Trinity Sunday), Trefaldighets Fort (Trinity Fort). The next day "Örnen" sailed up to Christina, and on the 23d the inhabitants of that region assembled to hear the commands of their sovereign, and the Dutch settlers who were permitted to remain on the Delaware took the oath of fealty to Sweden,—an act which, with the surrender of Fort Casimir, was at once reported in a letter from Rising to Stuyvesant. A meeting of the rest of the people for the same object was held at Tinicum on the 4th of June. Since the departure of Governor Printz the colonists had been greatly reduced in numbers through desertion and other causes, and Fort Nya Korsholm had been abandoned, and had afterwards been burned by the savages. Lieutenant Papegåja, therefore, cheerfully resigned the responsibility of the government to Commissary Rising, who retained him, however, as his counsellor, in conjunction with Captain Schute.



TRINITY FORT.[1]

The new Governor spent several days in visiting the various settlements on the river, in company with Engineer Lindström, and on the 17th of June concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the Indians, represented by ten of their sachems, at a council at Printzhof. The day after, "Lawrence Lloyd, the English commandant of Virginia," took supper with Rising, and intimated the claim made by his nation to the Delaware, referring especially to the grant to Plowden, already spoken of. The Swedes

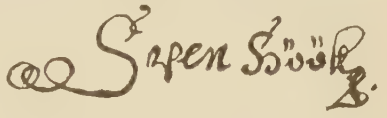
[1] This follows the sketch given in Campanius, p. 76, copied from Lindström.

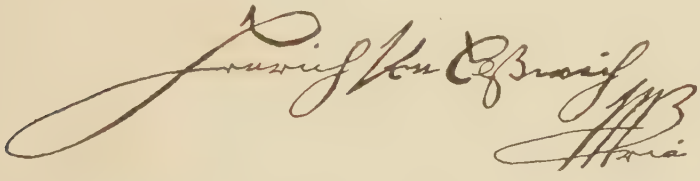
defended their title to the territory by an appeal to the donations and concessions of the natives. The Virginians subsequently desiring to buy land and settle it with colonists, Rising, remembering the encroachments of the Puritans in New Netherland, felt constrained to deny their request until special instructions on the subject should be received from Sweden. On the other hand, an open letter was addressed by the Governor, July 3, to all Swedes who had gone to Virginia, inviting them to return to the Delaware, and promising that they should then be granted permission to betake themselves wherever they wished. On the 8th of the same month still further recognition of the Swedish dominion over the west shore of the river, from Fort Trinity to the Schuylkill, was obtained from two Indian chieftains, who met Rising for that purpose at Fort Christina. The relations with New England at this period were quite friendly, and a shallop was despatched thither, under the charge of Jacob Svenson, to procure a larger supply of food. At the same time an "Ordinance" was promulgated, determining many details "concerning the people, land, agriculture, woods, and cattle," designed to promote the internal welfare of the colony. The progress made during the first two months of Governor Rising's administration was very satisfactory; and hopeful letters were addressed by him, July 11 and 13, to Erik and Axel Oxenstjerna, respectively, and a full Report of measures recommended and adopted, bearing the latter date, was rendered to the College of Commerce. "For myself," says the Governor, "thank God, I am very contented. There is four times more ground occupied at present than when we arrived, and the country is better peopled; for then we found only seventy persons, and now, including the Hollanders and others, there are three hundred and sixty-eight." Some of the old freemen, induced by the immunity from taxation which had been accorded to persons who occupied new land, requested fresh allotments. These relinquished ground already cleared, which was purchased for the Company and settled with young freemen, who were supplied with seed and cattle, subject to an equal division with the Company of the offspring and of the crops. Rising also deemed it advisable to found a little town of artisans and mechanics, and for that purpose selected a field near Fort Christina, which Lindström laid out in lots, naming the place Christinahamn (Christina Haven), where he proposed "to build houses in the autumn;" and among sites for cities and villages he mentions Sandhoeck, or Trinity, where about twenty-two houses had been erected by the Hollanders. The Dutch fort at the latter spot, which he had captured, was reconstructed by Captain Schute, who armed it with four fourteen-pounder cannon taken from "Örnen." In accordance with the permission granted, Rising selected for himself a piece of "uncleared land below Fort Trinity;" and since this was rather remote from his place of residence, Christina, he requested the privilege of cultivating "Timmerön (Timber Island), with the land to Skölpaddkilen (Tortoise-shell Creek)."

"Örnen" sailed from New Sweden in July, carrying home some of

the older colonists, with Lieutenant Papegåja, who was deputed to give further information about the condition of the settlement. It was impossible to provide the vessel with a sufficient cargo, but Rising shipped some tobacco, which he had purchased in Virginia, to be sold on his private account in Sweden.

We now know that news of Printz's departure from the Delaware was received soon after "Örnen" had left Gottenburg for America; and on the 28th of February, 1654, Queen Christina commissioned Rising as temporary Governor of New Sweden. By the same royal letter Hans Amundson was removed from the supervision of "the defence of the land and the forts," and this duty was intrusted to Sven Schute, in unwitting anticipation of a request in Rising's report of the following July. In consequence of incapacity exhibited on the voyage of "Gyllene Hajen" from Stockholm to Gottenburg, he was likewise replaced in the command of his vessel on the 4th of March, by Sven Höök, subject to the superior orders of Henrich von Elswich, of Lübeck, who was deputed to succeed Huygen as commissary in the colony, taking care of the cargoes and funds, and keeping the books of the Company. In the hope of further developing the growth of the settlement, on the 16th of the same month Queen Christina granted a "*privilegium* for those who buy land or traffic in New Sweden or the West Indies," in accordance with which, whoever purchased ground of the Company or of the Indians, with recognition of the jurisdiction of her Majesty was assured allodial enfranchisement for himself and his heirs forever; while subjects who exported goods which had already paid duty in the kingdom or dependencies of Sweden, should be free from all imposts on the Delaware, and were required to pay only two per cent (and nothing in Sweden) on what they exported from that river. On the 15th of April "Gyllene Hajen" was at last able to leave Gottenburg, with a number of emigrants and a quantity of merchandise, and arrived at Porto Rico on the 30th of June. Commissary Elswich was kindly received by the Spanish governor of the island, Don Diego Aquilera, and on presenting letters from his Catholic Majesty and Antonio de Pimentelli, the Spanish ambassador to Sweden, with his claim for damages for "Kattan," he was offered 14,030 Spanish dollars as compensation from the Governor, but not deeming that sum sufficient declined to accept it, in view of the good-will of the Spaniards and the prospect of more satisfactory negotiations on the subject in the future. Amundson, who had been permitted to accompany the expedition with his family, to press his personal demands at Porto Rico, and settle as a private individual





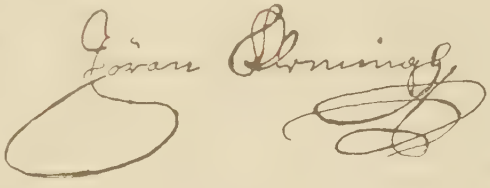
upon the Delaware, died on the 2d of July, and was buried on the island. The ship continued her voyage in August, and arrived off the continent September 12, when, either through the rashness or the malice of the mate, she was conducted into a bay, believed to be the Delaware, which was in fact the present New York harbor, — an error not discovered till she had reached Manhattan. So favorable an opportunity to retaliate the seizure of Fort Casimir by the Swedish governor was not suffered to pass unimproved by the energetic Stuyvesant, who detained the vessel and cargo, and on the refusal of Rising to visit New Amsterdam, or restore or pay for the Dutch fort, the Dutch governor confiscated the goods, and equipped "Gyllene Hajen," under the name of "Diemen," for the Curaçoa trade, in the service of his West India Company. Most of the emigrants remained in New Netherland; and Commissary Elswich, who vainly protested against such hostile actions, did not arrive at the Delaware until the close of November.

On the occasion of the English Minister Whitelocke's embassy to Sweden, in May, 1654, a convention was adopted for the observance of friendship between New Sweden and the English colonies in America, and for the adjustment of their boundaries. Probably in ignorance of this, during the ensuing summer the colonists of New Haven renewed their project of forming a settlement on the Delaware. By order of the General Court of July 5, Governor Theophilus Eaton addressed a letter on the subject to Governor Rising, to which the latter replied August 1, affirming the right of his sovereign to "all the lands on both sides Delaware Bay and River," and referring to "a conference or treaty before Mr. Endicott, wherein New Haven's right was silenced or suppressed." This was deemed unsatisfactory by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, to whom the letters were submitted by Governor Eaton on the 23d of September, and the same day another letter was written by these gentlemen to the Governor of New Sweden, reciting their purchases of land from the Indians, and desiring explanations. These communications being read at a General Court at New Haven on the 2d of November, a committee was appointed to receive applications from persons willing to emigrate, a company of whom appealed to the Court for aid in their enterprise on the 30th of the following January. This was readily accorded, and one of the number visited the Delaware to ascertain the sentiment of the people residing there; but returning in March, announced "little encouragement in the Bay," while "a report of three ships being come to the Swedes seemed to make the business more difficult." Although the undertaking was favored by the town of New Haven both then and during April, no attempt appears to have been made to carry it on.

During the summer of 1654 occurred the abdication of Queen Christina and the death of her aged Chancellor, Axel Oxenstjerna; but these events entailed no diminution of interest on the part of Sweden in the welfare of her colony in America. Observing that the partners in the West India Company "had not entered into their work with proper zeal," on the 23d

of December King Charles X. (Gustavus) instructed the College of Commerce "to admonish them to do their duty, under penalty of forfeiting their share of future profits," and for their encouragement renewed the privilege

of the monopoly of the tobacco trade in Sweden and her dependencies, which had been withdrawn Oct. 25, 1649. In April, 1655, members of the Company, including Johan Oxenstjerna, son of the late chancellor, and Jöran Fleming, son of the late admiral, were summoned before the College of Commerce, now presided over by Olof Andersson Strömsköld, who at the same time became Director of the Company, to decide "whether they would contribute the capital needed to carry on the enterprise, or relinquish their pretensions." The associates not relishing the latter alternative, the resolution was taken to disburse the last of their funds, and to try to induce other persons to join them in their work. It was even proposed to form a new company, enjoying proprietorship of the land subject to the Crown of Sweden, with increased privileges and immunities, — the scheme for this (dated in May) being still preserved in the Archives of the kingdom, although it does not seem to have been adopted, since it lacks the royal signature, and is not comprised in the registry. On the 30th of July Johan Rising was commissioned by the College of Commerce "Commandant" in New Sweden, — the budget for 1655 also embracing a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, a sergeant, two gunners, a corporal, a drummer, and thirty-six soldiers, a provost, and an executioner, with three clergymen, a commissary, an assistant-commissary, a fiscal, a barber-surgeon, and an engineer, at an annual expense of 4,404 riksdaler for the colony. In addition, certain employés were occupied in Stockholm, at a charge of 834 riksdaler. The Company likewise succeeded in fitting out the tenth and last Swedish expedition to the Delaware, under the command of the former Commissary, Hendrick Huygen, including Johan Papegâja, a Lutheran minister called Herr Matthias, six Finnish families from Värmland, and other emigrants, numbering in all eighty-eight souls, a hundred more being turned away for want of room. The vessel selected on this occasion was the "Mercurius," which was ready to receive her cargo, consisting chiefly of linen and woollen stuffs and salt, in July, but was obliged to wait for cannon and ammunition, and did not sail from Gottenburg until the 16th of October. She bore a letter to Rising promising that another ship should very soon follow.



The efforts of the last two years to strengthen the Swedish dominion on

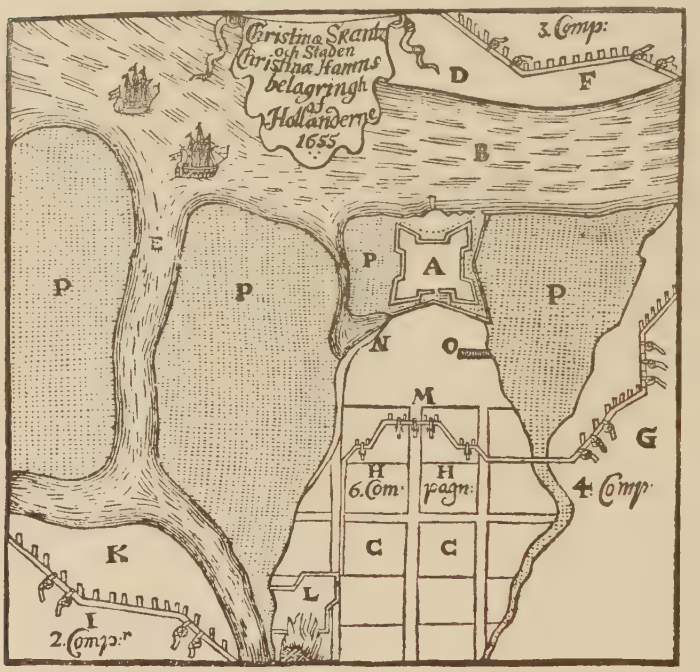
the Delaware were certainly sufficiently earnest to merit success; but they were made too late. Their inadequacy to the present extremity rather hastened the bursting of the storm which engulfed the political destiny of the settlement. The Dutch West India Company had never entirely abandoned their claim to jurisdiction over the shores of the "South River," and in April, 1654, apparently apprehending danger from the expedition under Rising, determined to occupy Fort Casimir with a force of two hundred men, who had been enlisted for service in New Netherland against the English,—a duty for which they were not needed, in consequence of the recent conclusion of peace. The surrender of this fort by Bikker was severely censured by the Directors, who addressed letters to Stuyvesant, in November, authorizing and urging the immediate undertaking of an expedition projected by him, "to avenge this misfortune, not only by restoring matters to their former condition, but also by driving the Swedes at the same time from the river." Documents were likewise called for, to be sent to Holland, confirmatory of the claim of the Dutch company to the territory on the Delaware, in anticipation, doubtless, of diplomatic controversies likely to arise between the governments of Sweden and the States-General. Before the receipt of these communications, however, Stuyvesant had gone on a voyage to the West Indies, whence he did not return to New Amsterdam until the middle of the following summer. Meanwhile the Dutch Directors wrote to him approving of his seizure of "Gyllene Hajen," and informing him that they had chartered "one of the largest and best ships" of Amsterdam, carrying thirty-six guns and two hundred men, to unite in the enterprise against New Sweden, which was to be undertaken by the authorities of New Netherland immediately on her arrival, in view of the "great preparations making in Sweden to assist their countrymen on the South River." At the same time the orders of November were modified, so that the Swedes might be permitted to retain the ground on which Fort Christina was built, "with a certain amount of garden-land for the cultivation of tobacco," provided they considered themselves subjects of the Dutch "State and Company."

The ship referred to, called "De Waag" (the Balance), reached New Amsterdam on the 4th of August, 1655, and Director-General Stuyvesant at once completed his preparations for the invasion of New Sweden. A small army of six or seven hundred men[1] was at length assembled, and distributed upon "De Waag," commanded by the Director-General in person, and six other vessels, comprising a galiot, flyboat, and two yachts, each mounting four guns. The whole force sailed on the 26th of August, arriving off Delaware Bay the following afternoon, and casting anchor the day after before the old Fort Elfsborg. On the night of the 30th their presence was made known to the Swedes by a vigorous discharge of cannon, and by the capture of some colonists by a party who had landed at Sand-

[1] So Governor Rising. According to a Dutchman who took part in the expedition, the "force consisted of three hundred and seventeen soldiers, besides a company of sailors."

hoeck. The next morning the Dutch appeared in front of Fort Trinity. In consequence of intimations received from the Indians, and confirmed by the testimony of two spies who had been sent by Rising to Manhattan, the advent of the Hollanders was not unexpected, and the garrison had been increased to forty-seven men, while orders had been issued by the Governor to Captain Schute, who still commanded at that post, to fire upon the Dutch in case they should attempt to pass. This fact was communicated by that officer to persons sent by Stuyvesant to demand the surrender of the fort; and in a personal interview with the Director-General, Schute solicited the privilege of transmitting an open letter to Rising asking for further instructions. This was peremptorily denied him, although a delay was afterward granted till the next morning, for a response to the summons. Nevertheless during the night Schute contrived to get word to Christina about his perilous situation, and nine or ten men were despatched to his relief. These were intercepted, however, by the Hollanders, two only escaping capture by retreating to their boat and returning to their fort. At the same time a mutiny occurred among the garrison of Fort Trinity, and fifteen or sixteen men were disarmed and put under arrest. Two others deserted and reported the condition of affairs to Stuyvesant. Resistance now seeming worse than useless, Schute met the Director-General on "De Waag," on the 1st of September, and consented to capitulate, on promise of security for the persons and private property of the officers, and the restoration to Sweden of the four iron guns and five field-pieces constituting the armament of the redoubt. The captain accordingly marched forth, with a guard of twelve men and colors flying, and the place was occupied by the Dutch. In consequence of the omission to stipulate a point of retreat for the garrison, on the 7th most of these were sent by Stuyvesant, on his flyboat, to New Amsterdam. The day of the surrender of Fort Trinity Factor Elswich presented himself before the Director-General, on the part of Governor Rising, "to demand an explanation of his conduct, and dissuade him from further hostilities," but was compelled to return without receiving satisfaction. Measures were therefore immediately taken for the defence of Fort Christina, all the people available being assembled at that place, where they "labored by night and by day, strengthening the ramparts and filling gabions." On the 2d of September the Dutch appeared in force on the opposite bank of Christina Creek, and on the 3d seized a Swedish shallop, and threatened to occupy a neighboring house. Lieutenant Sven Höök was sent by Rising to inquire their purpose, but he was detained by Stuyvesant on "De Waag." By the 4th the Hollanders had planted gabions about the house referred to, and under cover of these threw up a battery; and on the 5th landed on the north side of Christina Creek, and erected batteries on Timber Island, at Christinahamn, and on the west side of the fort. They completed their investment of the place by anchoring their ships at the mouth of the Fiske Kil, on the southeast. Some volleys of shot, fired over-head from

either side, assured Rising that he was entirely surrounded; and on the 6th a letter was brought by an Indian from Stuyvesant, "arrogantly claiming the whole river," and requiring all the Swedes to evacuate the country, except such as were willing to remain under the protection of the Dutch. A council of war was immediately held, at which it was determined not to begin hostilities, but to act on the defensive, and, if possible, to repel assaults. The next morning Factor Elswich, Sergeant Van Dyck, and Peter Rambo were sent to reply to Stuyvesant, with an assertion of the right of Sweden to the Delaware, exhorting him to refrain from acts which might lead to a breach between their sovereign and the States-General, and protesting his responsibility for all shedding of blood at Fort Christina. The Dutchman did not yield to their arguments, and on the 9th despatched a letter to Rising of similar import to that of the 6th, which was answered with a proposal that their boundaries be settled by their sovereigns, or by commissioners authoritatively appointed for that purpose. No regard was paid to this, however, by Stuyvesant, and the peculiar *quasi* siege was still continued, although no attempt was made to harm the garrison, notwithstanding, says Rising, there was not a spot upon



SIEGE OF CHRISTINA FORT.[1]

[1] This follows the rude plan given in Campanius, p. 81, extracted from Lindström's manuscript account of the affair.

A. Fort Christina.
B. Christina Creek.
C. Town of Christina Hamn.
D. Tennekong Land.
E. Fiske Kil (now Brandywine Creek).
F. Snake Battery, of four guns.
G. Gnat Battery, of six guns.
H. Rat Battery, of five guns.
I. Fly Battery, of four guns.
K. Timmer Öland (Timber Island).
L. Kitchen.
M. Position of the besiegers.
N. Harbor.
O. Mine.
P. Reed flats.
Comp., Compagn., — Companies of Dutch soldiers.

LINDSTRÖM'S MAP, 1654–1655.[1]

[1] [This is a reduction from the map given in Campanius, which is in itself a reduction from an original draft of the Swedish engineer. It is likewise given in *Nouv. Annales des Voyages*, Mars, 1843; in *Memoirs of Pennsylvania Historical Society*, vol. iii. part i.; in Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, ii. 154, etc. Armstrong, in establishing the position of Fort Nassau, examined the following maps, which include, he thinks, all early maps of the bay and river: De Laet's "Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia," 1633; Blaeu's *Theatre du Monde*, 1645, marked "Nova Belgica et Anglica Nova," which apparently follows De Laet. Also, the map of Virginia by Virginia Farrer (in Vol. III.), dated at London in 1651, and bearing this legend: "This River the Lord Ployden hath a Patten of, and calls it new Albion, but the Sweeds are planted in it and have a great trade of Furrs." Lindström's manuscript map of 1654, twenty-seven inches long, in the

the walls where they could have stood with safety. Meanwhile the Swedish force, which numbered only about thirty men, some of whom were sick and others ill-affected, noting the progress of the works of the enemy, and anticipating the speedy exhaustion of their supplies, began to entertain thoughts of surrender. On the 13th Rising and Elswich had an interview with Stuyvesant, and made a last appeal on behalf of the jurisdiction of their sovereign over the territory of New Sweden, but were answered as before by the Director-General. The Dutch now brought the guns of all their batteries to bear upon the fort, and the following day formally summoned the Swedish governor to capitulate within twenty-four hours, — a proposal to which the garrison unanimously acceded, and articles of surrender were drawn up on the 15th. In accordance with these, all artillery, ammunition, provisions, and other effects belonging to the Crown of Sweden and the South Company were to be retained by them; while officers, soldiers, ministers, and freemen were permitted to keep their personal goods and have liberty to go wherever they pleased, or remain upon the Delaware, protected in the exercise of their Swedish Lutheran religion. Such of the colonists as desired to return to their native country should be conveyed thither on suitable vessels, free of expense; while Rising and Elswich, by secret agreement, were to be landed in France or England. After accepting these conditions, the Governor of New Sweden was approached by the Director-General with a proposition singularly differing from that authorized, as stated, by the Directors of the Dutch West India Company; namely, that the Swedes should reoccupy their fort and maintain possession of the land higher up the river, while the Hollanders merely reserved for themselves that south of Christina Creek, — the two nations at the same time entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with one another. It is not easy to account for this action on the part of the victorious Dutchman, unless we attribute it to the news of the invasion of New Amsterdam by a

Swedish Royal Archives, of which Armstrong saw a copy in the library of the American Philosophical Society (and another copy of which, made for the late Joseph J. Mickley, has been engraved in Reynolds's translation of Acrelius). The map of Visscher, without date (? 1654), "Novi Belgii, Novæque Angliæ necnon partis Virginiæ tabula." Vanderdonck's 1654, given in the preceding chapter. The map in Ogilby's *America*, and in Montanus's *Nieuwe Onbekende Weereld*, 1671, both from the same plate, "Novi Belgii . . . delineatio," which follows Visscher and Vanderdonck. Dancker's "Novi Belgii," etc. Ottens's "Totius Neobelgii . . . tabula," following Visscher. A map, "Edita Totius Novi Belgii cura Matthæi Seutteri." Another, "Nova Anglia . . . a Baptista Homerus [Homans?]." Again, "Pennsylvania, . . . cum regionibus ad flumen Delaware sitis . . . per M. Scutterum." Arent Roggeveen's chart, 1675, which Armstrong calls the "first comparatively correct map of the bay and river." The three types in these maps are Lindström's, Visscher's, and Roggeveen's; the others are copies more or less closely. Armstrong did not, however, quite thoroughly scan the field. De Laet's map of 1633 appeared earlier in his 1630 edition, and is given in fac-simile in Vol. III, where will also be found the map accompanying *The Relation of Maryland*, 1635. Blaeu's map appeared earlier in his *Nieuwe Atlas*, 1635. There is also the map of the Mercator-Hondius series, reproduced in Hexham's English translation in 1636. Sanson's map of 1656 is also sketched in Vol. III. A map entitled *Pascaerte van Nieu Nederland* is in Van Loon's Atlas of 1661. There are also two maps showing the bay in Speed's *Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World*, London, 1676, which very blindly follow the Dutch maps; and we do not get any better work till we come to Gabriel Thomas's map of 1698, which is given in fac-simile in Vol. III. — ED.]

large body of Indians, just learned through a letter from his Council, urging his speedy return home, and the fear lest the Swedes might take advantage of the predicament to retake all their territory. The unexpected offer was reduced to writing at the desire of Rising, and was made the subject of a consultation with his people, who rejected it, however, fearing duplicity on the part of Stuyvesant, and dreading to incur the animosity entertained by the English and the Indians towards the Hollanders. They also thought they might thereby compromise the claim of their sovereign to the whole territory of New Sweden, and preferred to leave it to their "most worthy superiors," as the Governor expressed it, "to resent and redress their wrongs in their own time, and in such way and with such force as might be requisite." The delivery of this answer to the Director-General terminated negotiations. As had been stipulated, Rising, Elswich, Lindström, and other officers were allowed to remain in Fort Christina, while the common soldiers were quartered on Timber Island, until the time allotted for their departure for Manhattan. Those of the colonists who determined to stay on the Delaware were required to take oaths of allegiance to the States-General and the Dutch West India Company, and to the Director-General and Council of New Netherland. An article of the capitulation provided for the trial of Captain Schute for his surrender of Fort Trinity. This took place presently, at a courtmartial held by Governor Rising on Timber Island. The Swedish officer denied the charges preferred against him; and there is no evidence that he ever suffered punishment for them. During Stuyvesant's sojourn in New Sweden, and particularly while he was besieging Fort Christina, the Dutch soldiers committed ravages upon the settlers, not only in this vicinity and around Fort Trinity, but at New Gottenburg, Printzdorp, Upland, Finland, and other points along the river, which were estimated by Rising at over 5,000 florins, involving incidental losses very much greater. On the 1st of October the Governor of New Sweden and his companions, among whom were Engineer Lindström and Factor Elswich, with the clergymen Nertunius and Hjort, embarked on "De Waag," and "bade farewell" to the Delaware. After arriving at New Amsterdam, they sailed on three merchantmen in the beginning of November. Among the incidents of their voyage was the unfortunate loss of Lindström's chest of instruments, maps, and professional papers, which fell overboard through the carelessness of the sailors, and sank to the bottom of the sea. Rising landed at Plymouth, England, from whence he went to London, on the 22d of December, reporting the conquest of New Sweden to Johan Leyonberg, the Swedish ambassador, while Lindström and his associates continued their course to Holland. After suffering many hardships, both parties finally reached their own country, and on the 17th of April certain of them appeared before the College of Commerce, to render their accounts and make their claims for services. On inquiry into the manner of the overthrow of the colony, it was determined to present a detailed report of it to

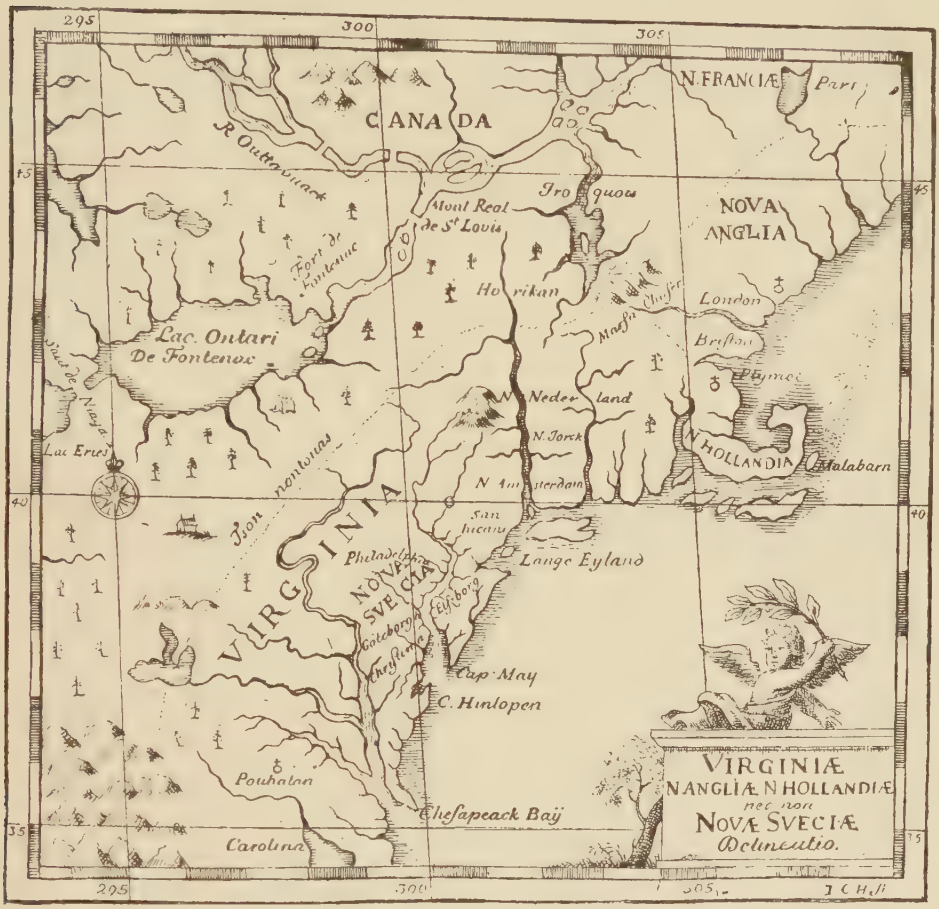
his Majesty, and the returned emigrants were instructed to appeal for the settlement of their demands to the Directors of the American Company. The funds of the latter were estimated, April 27, 1655, at 158,178 riksdaler, the chief items accredited, however, being "stock for building ships," "the cargo of 'Örnen,'" "damages for 'Kattan,'" "the territory of New Sweden and its forts," — securities which did not justify such a hopeful valuation. At the present period their indebtedness was stated at 19,311 riksdaler, their assets being augmented by claims against the Dutch West India Company for the seizure of "Gyllene Hajen," and afterward by the receipts from the "Mercurius." Their property was found to be insufficient to discharge their many obligations, and for several years demands continued to be presented on behalf of Printz, Rising, Anckerhelm, and others, which there is little reason to think were ever fully satisfied.

During the occurrence of these events the "Mercurius" was wending her way across the Atlantic, bearing the last hope of safety for the colony, whose subjugation by the Dutch was not learned by her passengers until their arrival in the Delaware, March 14, 1656. They were denied permission to land until commands were received from Director-General Stuyvesant, either to return at once to Sweden, or, in case they needed to lay in provisions and other commodities for a fresh voyage, to repair with their vessel to New Amsterdam. So unexpected a termination of their long and arduous journey was naturally most distasteful to the emigrants, and Commissary Huygen endeavored to change the purpose of the Dutch authorities by paying them a visit and addressing to them a petition on the subject. This was without avail, however, and he was obliged to order his ship, with people and cargo, to Manhattan. The command was disobeyed by the captain, who was compelled by Papegåja and other Swedes, who boarded the vessel, to put passengers and goods ashore on the Delaware, deterring the Hollanders from firing at them from Fort Casimir by carrying along some friendly Indians, whom the Dutch were afraid to hurt. On the 3d of May, therefore, two councillors were deputed to proceed to the South River on "De Waag," accompanied by Huygen, to enforce the command of the latter; and in July the "Mercurius" was finally brought to New Amsterdam by the Commissary, who obtained leave to sell her cargo there by payment of a satisfactory duty. How many emigrants of this last Swedish expedition to the Delaware remained in New Sweden is not known.[1] The vessel bore back Herr Matthias, and probably Papegåja, and arrived at Gottenburg in September of the same year.

In conclusion, it remains for us to indicate, very briefly, the measures taken by the Government of Sweden to regain possession of their colony, or, at least, to obtain compensation for the loss of it. As early as March, 1656, the Swedish Minister (Harald Appelboom) presented a memorial to the States-General, demanding the re-establishment of the old situation on the Delaware or the payment of indemnity to the American Company;

[1] Anders Bengtson is the only one whose name has been preserved to us.

and on the 3d of the following June Governor Rising submitted to his sovereign a plan for the reconquest of that river, supported by an array of arguments maintaining the right of Sweden to her settlement. About this



MAP OF THE ATLANTIC COLONIES.[1]

time, however, the King's attention was absorbed by enterprises in Poland, and soon after by the first war with Denmark, and nothing was accomplished; but at a meeting of his Council, April 15, 1658, his Majesty

[1] This is the curious map given in Campanius, p. 52. It was probably suggested by, although it does not follow, a detailed and interesting manuscript map of the Atlantic coast from Cape Henry to Cape Ann, by Peter Lindström, 19¼ × 6⅞ inches in size, including "Virginia," "Nova Suecia," "Nova Batavia," and "Nova Anglia," which will soon be printed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. [The New England region has some reminiscences of John Smith's map of 1614, though that first explorer did not place Mount Massachusetts (Chevyot Hills, — that is, the modern Blue Hills of Milton) on the borders of Lake Champlain; but he did give the entities of London and Bristow to non-existing towns. The early Dutch maps are responsible for the curiously-shaped shoal off Cape Cod, and for the southern line of New England running west from Pye Bay (Nahant). There was, of course, a necessity of bringing "Massa Chuser" in some way above that line. — ED.]

"decided, *en passant*, that New Sweden was well worth endeavoring to recover;" and in a decree concerning the tobacco trade, of the 22d of May, the monopoly of the West India Company was further defined, "chiefly, that the important colony of New Sweden might be preserved now and hereafter to the great advantage" of the kingdom, "and that the settlements of subjects in that region be not entirely abandoned." Still nothing was attempted on behalf of the colony, doubtless in consequence of the breaking out of the second war with Denmark. The Company was dissolved and the tobacco trade enfranchised in 1662. The next year a fruitless demand upon the States-General for damages was made by the Swedish Regency,[1] which was followed, on the rise of difficulties between England and Holland in 1664, by the issue of orders to Appelboom to give heed to the negotiations of these powers, and to protest against the formal relinquishing of New Sweden to either nation before the indemnification of his own. During the latter year attention was still further attracted to the colony by the arrival in the spring at Amsterdam, on a Dutch ship from Christiania, of a hundred and forty Finns from the region of Sundsvall, who had been encouraged to emigrate by letters from relatives and friends who were living on the Delaware. The Swedish Government, not knowing of this correspondence, and supposing the Finns had been enticed by secret emissaries from Holland, instructed Resident Peter Trotzig and Appelboom to remonstrate against the enterprise, and to demand that the people should be returned "at the cost of those who had deceived them." Nevertheless, the emigrants sailed in June for New Sweden in a vessel furnished by the city of Amsterdam; and the Swedish authorities were obliged to content themselves with requiring strict surveillance on the part of the governors of certain provinces in Finland to prevent such actions in the future. The matter was not referred to in the memorials addressed by Appelboom to the States-General the same month, although these boldly claimed restitution of the territory of New Sweden to the Swedish West India Company, with reimbursement of all damages sustained by it, — in support of which demands the Government also solicited the countenance and aid of France and England. This topic was renewed on occasion of the embassy of Isbrandt to Sweden; and at a conference held Nov. 16, 1665, after some attempts to defend the conduct of his countrymen on the Delaware, the Dutch envoy actually proposed that Swedes and Hollanders should endeavor, "*junctis viribus*," to retake the territory from the English, who then controlled it. Isbrandt afterward requested proofs of the Swedish claims, for presentation to his Government. On Dec. 24, 1666, the College of Com-

[1] The dread expressed in letters from the Directors of the Dutch West India Company to Director-General Stuyvesant, dated Oct. 16 and 30, 1663 (*Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. 445–46), lest an expedition, which had sailed from Sweden under Admiral Hendrick Gerritsen Zeehelm, was designed to subvert their dominion over the South River, is not justified, says Sprinchorn, by evidence of the existence of any plan to recover the colony, at that time, by force of arms.

merce was commanded to furnish these evidences to Count Christoffer Delphicus von Dohna and Appelboom, who were appointed to treat with the States-General upon the subject. A paper was drawn up, therefore, by that body, Feb. 27, 1667, comprising the usual arguments and copies of documents, with specifications of the losses of the Swedish West India Company, including interest amounting to the sum of 262,240 riksdaler. On the other hand, the Dutch negotiators, among whom were Isbrandt and John de Witt, produced counter claims and complaints of the Dutch Company, and demanded that "the pretensions on both sides be reciprocally dismissed." At the final convention at the Hague, July 18, it was "ordered and decreed" that these controversies "be examined as soon as possible by his Majesty's envoy, according to the principles of justice and equity, and satisfaction then, immediately and without delay, be given to the injured party." It could hardly be expected, however, that the Hollanders would pay claims on property no longer theirs, especially when the loss of New Netherland had well nigh ruined the Dutch West India Company, which ought, ordinarily, to have met the obligations thus incurred. That nothing was done is evident from the fact that the Swedish Government soon afterward exerted itself, with unrepining zeal, to obtain indemnity from the power now exercising dominion over their former territory. Before the terms of the Peace of Breda were known, instructions had been issued to Dohna "to inquire whether England or Holland was in possession of New Sweden, and treat with the proper nation for the restoration of it to Sweden;" and April 28, 1669, Leyonberg, still Swedish minister at London, was required, "without attracting attention, secretly, adroitly, and cautiously" to endeavor to discover what England designed to do with her new acquisition. Subsequently papers were drawn up, setting forth the grounds of the Swedish claim to the territory in dispute, and the English ambassador at Stockholm promised "to contribute his best offices with his sovereign" to procure its recognition. From a response of Leyonberg to his Swedish Majesty, dated July 24, 1669, we learn that the question had been mooted by him, but was always put aside with assertions of the rights of England, in view of the neglect of Sweden to demand her colony at the conclusion of peace. Concerning the condition of the settlement, he had heard great praise of "the diligence and industry, the alacrity and docility of the Swedes" then dwelling on the Delaware, and had been told "their lands were the best cultivated in all that region." Since we do not meet with any evidence that the Swedish claims were ever again referred to, we presume that at last the subject was dropped, and that henceforth the American colony was universally regarded as finally lost to Sweden.

Thus terminates the history of New Sweden under Swedish sovereignty. Although for twenty-five years after the departure of the last governor the people whose immigration to our continent has been related were almost the only civilized residents on the shores of the Delaware, and were practically nearly as independent as their fathers under the rules of Queen

Christina and King Charles X. (Gustavus), they were now nominally subjects of their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General, and later of King Charles II. of England, and their career is properly included in accounts of the Dutch and English dominions of that epoch. Henceforth their connection with the mother country was confined to the limited ecclesiastical sphere of the Swedish Lutheran religion; and this was only ultimately brought to a close at the death of the Reverend Nicholas Collin, the last Swedish pastor of Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia, in 1831, a hundred and seventy-six years after the conquest of New Sweden by Governor Stuyvesant. During all this period of perpetual contact with an enormously increasing population of other races, certain of the descendants of the Swedes who first cultivated this region sedulously observed ancestral customs, and preserved the knowledge and use of their maternal tongue within family circles. And if, on the other hand, intermarriage with their neighbors eventually confounded many of the old stock with English and German colonists of later immigrations, this merely extended the influence of that virtuous and industrious people, who became the progenitors of not a few citizens of note of several of our chief provinces and commonwealths. The colonization scheme we have endeavored to portray failed, without doubt, of the significance anticipated for it in the enlargement of the empire and the development of the trade and commerce of Sweden; but it formed the nucleus of the civilization which afterward acquired such expansion under William Penn and his contemporaries through the founding of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, and was the first impulse of that modern movement, — in strong contrast with the wild spirit of the ancient Scandinavian sea-kings and pre-Columbian discoverers of America,—which has contributed so large and useful a population to Illinois and Wisconsin and other Western States of our Republic.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE earliest information we possess concerning New Sweden is found in the charter granted by King Gustavus Adolphus in 1624 to the Australian Company.[1] During the ensuing decade were published other documents mentioned in the beginning of the preceding narrative.[2] The subject is referred to in a few of the *Resolutien van de Staten*

[1] *Manifest und Vertragbrieff, der Australischen Companey im Königreich Schweden auffgerichtet. Im Jahr MDCXXIV.* 4to, 12 unnumbered pp. The only copy known to the writer is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The document itself is reproduced in the *Auszführlicher Bericht über den Manifest.* A facsimile of the title is given herewith.

[2] *Fullmagt för Wellam Usselinx at inrätta et Gen. Handels Comp. til Asien, Afr., Amer. och Terra Magell. Dat. Stockh. d.* 21 *Dec.* 1624. Cited by Acrelius. It has been translated into English in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 1 and 2.

Sw. Rikes Gen. Handels Compagnies Contract, dirigerat til Asiam, Africam och Magellaniam, samt desz Conditiones, etc. *Stockh. år* 1625. Cited by Acrelius. — *Der Reiche Schweden Genera.*

MANIFEST

vnd Vertragbrieff / der Australischen Companey im Königreich Schweden auffgerichtet.

Im Jahr/

M. DC XXIV.

Compagnies Handlungs Contract, Dirigiret naher Asiam, Africam, Americam, vnd Magellanicam. Samt dessen Conditionen vnnd Wilköhren. Mit Kön. May. zu Schweden, vnsers Aller-gnedigsten Königs vnd Herrn gnediger Bewilligung, auch hierauff ertheilten Privilegien, in öffentlichen Druck publiciret. Stockholm, 1625. 4to, title, and 7 unnumbered pages. A copy is in the Carter-Brown Library. Translated into English in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. 2 *et seq.*

Uthförligh Förklaring öfwer Handels Contractet angående thet Södre Compagniet uthi Konungarijket i Swerighe. Stält igenom Wilhelm Usselinx, Och nu aff thet Nederländske Språket uthsatt på Swenska, aff Erico Schrodero. Tryckt i Stockholm, aff Ignatio Meurer, Åhr 1626, 4to.

van Holland en West Vriesland. Beauchamp Plantagenet's *Description of the Province of New Albion,*[1] the *Breeden-Raedt aende Vereenichde Nederlandsche Provintien,*[2] and the

—*Auszführlicher Bericht über den Manifest; oder Vertrag-Brieff der Australischen oder Süder Compagney im Königreich Schweden. Durch Wilhelm Usselinx. Ausz dem Niederländischen in die Hochdeutsche Sprache übergesetzt. Stockholm, Gedruckt durch Christoffer Reusner. Anno* MDCXXVI. 4to. The German version contains Usselinx's interesting "voorrede" to the Netherlanders, dated at Stockholm, Oct. 17, 1625, in the original Dutch (not given in the Swedish edition), reprinted in the Dutch *Octroy ofte Privilegie*, and reproduced in the corrected *Auszführlicher Bericht* of the *Argonautica Gustaviana.* Cf. Muller's *Books on America* (1872), no. 1,143, for a comparison of the Swedish edition and the Dutch *Octroy ofte Privilegie.* The only copies of these books known to the writer are in the library of Congress.

Octroy eller Privilegier, som then Stormägtigste Högborne Furste och Herre, Herr Gustaf Adolph, Sweriges, Göthes och Wendes Konung, etc. *Det Swenska nysz uprättade Södra Compagniet nädigst hafwer bebrefwat. Dat. Stockholm d.* 14 *Junii,* 1626. Cited by Acrelius.—*Octroy und Privilegium so der Allerdurchläuchtigste Groszmächtigste Fürst und Herr, Herr Gustavus Adolphus, der Schweden, Gothen und Wenden König, Grosz-Fürst in Finnland, Hertzog zu Ehesten und Carelen, Herr zu Ingermanland, etc. Der im Königreich Schweden jüngsthin auffgerichteten Süder-Compagnie allergnädigst gegeben und verliehen. Stockholm, gedruckt bey Ignatio Meurern. Im Jahr* 1626. Reprinted in Johannes Marquardus's *Tractatus Politico-Juridicus de Jure Mercatorum et Commerciorum Singulari*, vol. ii. pp. 545–52, Frankfort, 1662. An English translation is given in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii 7 *et seq.*

Octroy ofte Privilegie soo by den alderdoorluchtigsten Grootmachtigen Vorst ende Heer Heer Gustaeff Adolph, der Sweden Gothen ende Wenden Koningh, Grootvorst in Finland, Hertogh tot Ehesten ende Carelen, Heer tot Ingermanland, etc., aen de nieuw opgerichte Zuyder Compagnie in't Koningrijck Sweden onlangs genadigst gegeben ende verleend is, Mitsgaders een naerder Bericht over't selve Octroy ende Verdragh-brief door Willem Usselincx. In's Gravenhage, By Aert Meuris, Boeckverkooper in de Papestraat in den Bybel, anno 1627. *4to.* Besides the *Octroy* it comprises a Dutch version of Usselinx's *Uthförligh Förklaring.* Cf. Asher's *Essay*, no. 41 and pp. 82, 83.

Kurtzer Extract der vornemsten Haupt-Puncten, so biszher weitläufftig und gründlich erwiesen, und nochmals, jedermänniglich unwiedersprechlich für Augen gestellet sollen werden. In Sachen der neuen Süder-Compagnie. Gedruckt zu Heylbrunn bey Christoph Krausen, Anno 1633. *Mens. Aprili.* Reprinted in Marquard's *Tractatus*, vol. ii. 541–42.

Instruction oder Anleitung: Welcher Gestalt die Einzeichnung zu der neuen Süder-Compagnie, durch Schweden und nunmehr auch Teutschland zubefördern, und an die Hand zunehmen; derselben auch mit ehestem ein Anfang zumachen. Gedruckt zu Heylbrunn bey Christoph Krausen. 1633. *Mense Aprili.* Reprinted in Marquard's *Tractatus*, vol. ii. pp. 542–45.

Ampliatio oder Erweiterung des Privilegii so der Allerdurchläuchtigste Groszmächtigste Fürst und Herr, Herr Gustavus Adolphus, der Schweden, Gothen und Wenden König; Grosz-Fürst in Finnland, Hertzog zu Ehesten und Carelen, Herr zu Ingermannland, etc. Der neuen Australischen oder Süder-Compagnie durch Schweden und nunmehr auch Teutschland, allergnädigst ertheilet und verliehen. Gedruckt zu Heylbrunn, bey Christoph Krausen. Im Jahr 1633. *Mense Aprili.* Reprinted in Marquard's *Tractatus*, vol. ii. pp. 552–55.

Argonautica Gustaviana, das ist: Nothwendige Nach-Richt von der Neuen Seefahrt und Kauffhandlung, so von dem Weilandt Allerdurchleuchtigsten Groszmächtigsten und Siegreichesten Fürsten unnd Herrn, Herrn Gustavo Adolpho Magno, . . . durch anrichtung einer General Handel-Compagnie . . . vor wenig Jahren zu stifften angefangen: anjetzo aber der Teutschen Evangelischen Nation . . . zu unermesslichem Nutz und Frommen . . . mitgetheilet worden. . . . Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Caspar Rödteln, im Jahr Christi 1633. *Mense Junio.* Folio. It comprises: a *Patent oder öffentlich Auszschreiben wegen dieses Vorhabens*, signed by Axel Oxenstjerna, June 26, 1633 (3 pp.); an *Extract etlicher vornehmen Haubtpuncten* (2 pp.); the *Octroy und Privilegium* of Gustavus Adolphus (8 pp.); the *Ampliatio* (4 pp.); *Formular desz Manifest,* reproducing with slight

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[1] *Printed in the Year* 1648. For the full title and some particulars concerning this book see paper on "New Albion," in Vol. III.

[2] *Breeden-Raedt aende Vereenichde Nederlandsche Provintien, Gelreland, Holland, Zeeland, Wtrecht, Vriesland, Over-Yssel, Groeningen, Gemaeckt ende Gestelt uyt diverse ware en waerachtige memorien. Door I. A. G. W. C. Tot Antwerpen, ghedruct by Francoys van Duynen, Boeckverkooper by de Beurs in Erasmus*, 1649. Translated into English by Henry C. Murphy in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. iii. part i. pp. 237 *et seq.* (New York, 1857). See preceding chapter.

Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland,[1] and *Beschrijvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant*[2] of Adriaen van der Donck give brief accounts of the settlement. Several statements with regard to it are to be found in the *Historia Suecana* of Johan Loccenius.[3] David Pieterszen de Vries[4] relates the circumstances of a visit he paid to it in 1643. Lieuwe van Aitzema[5] supplies copies of treaties and negotiations between Sweden and the States-General with respect to the dominion over the Delaware, an *Antwoordt*[6] of the latter to Resident Appelboom also appearing separately. Something of interest may be gleaned from *De Hollandsche Mercurius*. This, with sundry maps elsewhere referred to, constitutes, it is believed, all the contemporaneous printed matter which is still preserved to us.

A short account of the colony is contained in Samuel Puffendorf's *Commentarii de Rebus Suecicis*, published at Utrecht in 1686. It was not, however, until 1702 that a book appeared professedly treating of the settlement. This was the *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige* of Thomas Campanius Holm.[7] The fact that the author was a grand-

variations the *Manifest*, and Usselinx's *Ausz-führlicher Bericht, in Niderländischen Sprach gestellet, vor diesem bereit in eyl in Teutsch übergesetzt, anitzo aber nach dem Niderländischen mit allem fleisz übersehen, an vielen Orten nach Notturfft verbessert und mit Summarischen Marginalien bezeichnet* (56 pp.); and, finally, Usselinx's appeal to the Germans, entitled *Mercurius Germaniæ*, with the *Instruction*, and some *Nothwendige Beylagen* (51 pp.). It has been reprinted in Marquard's *Tractatus*, vol. ii. pp. 373–540. Cf. Muller's *Books on America* (1872), no. 1,136; (1877) no. 179; and a note in the preceding chapter.

Ampliation oder Erweiterung von dem Octroij und Privilegio, der newen Süyder-Handels Compagnia, durch Last und Befehl von die Deputirten der löblichen Confœderirten Herren Ständen, der vier Ober-Cräysen zu Franckfurth, anzustellen verordnet, den 12 *December, Anno* 1634. *Gedruckt zu Hamburg, durch Heinrich Werner, im Jahr Christi* 1635 A copy is bound with that of the *Argonautica Gustaviana* in the Harvard College Library.

[1] *Vertoogh van Nieu Neder-land, Weghens de Gheleghentheydt, Vruchtbaerheydt, en Soberen Staet deszelfs. In's Graven-Hage. Ghedruckt by Michiel Stael, Bouckverkooper woonende op 't Buyten Hof, tegen-over de Gevange-Poort*, 1650, 4to, 49 pp. A translation of it, with explanatory notes (one of which relates to the date of the arrival of the Swedes on the Delaware, citing Hawley's letter to Windebanke, and correcting Arfwedson's misapprehension of Biörck), by Henry C. Murphy, is given in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. ii. pp. 251 *et seq.* (New York, 1849); and one of an authenticated copy of the original document appears in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i. pp. 271 *et seq.* Authors also frequently cite the *Beschryvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt*, etc. (*'t Amsterdam, by Joost Hartgers*, 1651, 4to), a compilation from the *Vertoogh* and other publications. See preceding chapter.

[2] *Beschrijvinghe van Nieuwv-Nederlant . . . Beschreven door Adriaen van der Donck. . . . 't Amsteldam. . . .* 1655, 4to. The same: *Den tweeden Druck. Met een pertinent Kaertje van 't zelve Landt verciert en van veel druckfouten gesuyvert. 't Aemsteldam. . . .* 1656. 4to. A translation of the second edition, by the Hon. Jeremiah Johnson, is given in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. i pp. 125 *et seq.* (New York, 1841). See preceding chapter.

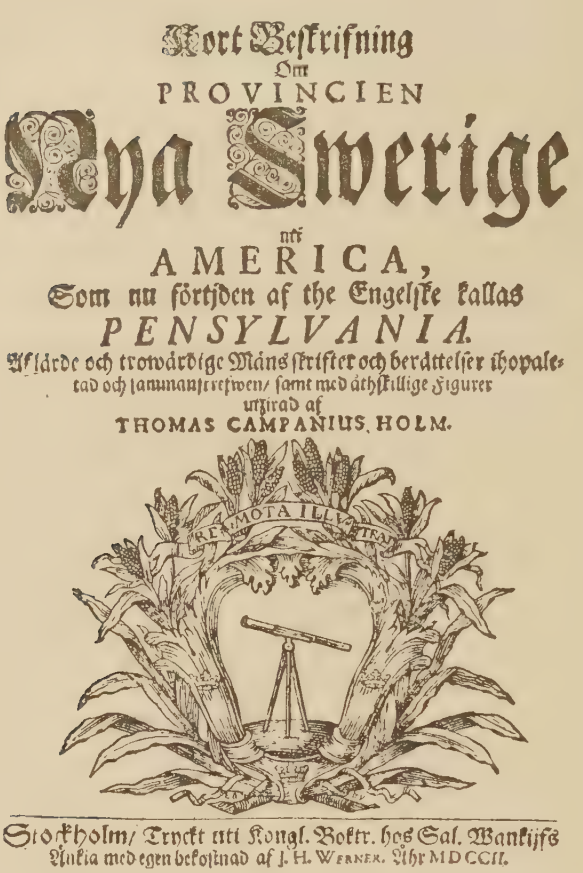
[3] Upsala, 1654 and 1662, 8vo. Frankfort and Leipsic, 1676, 4to.

[4] In his *Korte historiael ende journaels aenteyckeninge van verscheyden voyagiens in de vier deelen des Wereldts-Ronde, . . . t' Hoorn. . . .* 1655 (4to, 192 pp.). A translation of the voyages to America, by Henry C. Murphy, appears in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 1 *et seq.* The version in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. i. pp. 243 *et seq.*, by Dr. G. Troost, from the Du Simitière MSS. in the Philadelphia Library, does not include the visit of De Vries to Printz, an imperfect account of which is given by the translator, which has been not less imperfectly followed by several later writers. See preceding chapter.

[5] *Saken van Staat en Oorlogh, in, ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden*, 1621–1669. The Hague, 1657–1671, 15 vols., 4to; 1669–1672, 7 vols, folio.

[6] *Antwoordt van de Hog. Mo. Heeren Staten Generael deser vereenighde Nederlanden, Gegeven den* 15 *Augusti* 1664, *op twee distincte memorien, ende pretensien van de Heer Appelboom, Resident van den Konich van Sweden, De eene overgelevert aen haer Ho. Mo. voorsz. Tot Uytrecht, By Pieter Dercksz. Anno* 1664. 4to.

[7] *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige uti America, som nu förtjden af the Engelske kallas Pensylvania. Af lärde och trowärdige Mäns skrifter och berättelser ihopaletad och sammanstrefwen, samt med åthskillige Figure utzirad af Thomas Campanius Holm. Stockholm, Tryckt uti Kongl. Boktr. hos Sal. Wankijfs Änkia med egen bekostnad, af J. H. Werner. Åhr* MDCCII.


Kort Beſkrifning
Om
PROVINCIEN
Nya Swerige
uti
AMERICA,
Som nu förtiden af the Engelſke kallas
PENSYLVANIA.
Afhandlad och trowärdige Mäns ſkrifter och berättelſer ihopaleed och tammanſkrefwen/ ſamt med åthſkillige Figurer
utgifwad af
THOMAS CAMPANIUS HOLM.
Stockholm/ Tryckt uti Kongl. Boktr. hos Sal. Wankijfs
Änkia med egen bekoſtnad af J. H. Werner. Åhr MDCCII.

PRINTED TITLE OF CAMPANIUS.

son of the Rev. Johan Campanius Holm, who accompanied Governor Printz to New Sweden, both accounts for his interest in the topic and indicates the value of much of his material. This is chiefly drawn from manuscripts of Campanius's grandfather and oral communications of his father, Johan Campanius Holm, who was with the former on the Delaware, and the writings of Governor Rising and Engineer Lindström, preserved among the Archives of the Kingdom of Sweden. From the latter are also taken a drawing of Fort Trinity, a plan of the siege of Fort Christina by the Dutch (both reproduced in the preceding narrative), and a pictorial representation of three Indians. There is likewise a map of New Sweden (appearing in this chapter) engraved by Campanius from a reduction (made by order of King Charles XI. of Sweden in 1696) of a map of the Swedish engineer, four Swedish ells in length and two in width, which was destroyed in the conflagration of

4to, xx+192 pp. An ornamental titlepage bears the legend: *Novæ Sveciæ seu Pensylvaniæ in America Descriptio.* The work is dedicated to King Charles XII. of Sweden, and is divided into four books, the first of these treating of America in general, the second of New Sweden, and the third of the Indians in New Sweden, and the fourth consisting of a vocabulary and collection of phrases and some discourses in the dialect of the same savages, with Addenda concerning the Minquas and their language, and certain rare and remarkable things in America. It is embellished with numerous illustrations besides those mentioned in the text; among them being maps of America and of Virginia, New England, New Holland, and New Sweden, and one of New Sweden taken from Nicholas Visscher, the two latter being given in this chapter, and pictures of an Indian fort and Indian canoes. An extract from a translation of it is given in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii. pp. 343 *et seq.* (New York, 1814). An annotated translation of the whole work, by Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL.D., reproducing Lindström's and Visscher's maps of New Sweden, and the representations of Trinity Fort, the siege of Christina Fort, and the Indian fort, above referred to, was published in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 1 *et seq.* (Philadelphia, 1834). The work is rare. Copies are to be found in the Philadelphia Library, in the libraries of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Harvard College and Congress, and in the Carter-Brown collection. It is priced in recent catalogues as high as £15 or £16. Cf. *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 3,043–44; Sabin's *Dictionary*, iii. 10,202; Muller (1872), no. 1,138; (1875), no. 2,845; (1877), no. 570; 80 Dutch florins; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 233; *Menzies Catalogue*, no. 327; *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, no. 467. Few copies have all the illustrations. Muller errs in making the author the son, instead of the grandson, of the Rev. Johan Campanius Holm.

the royal palace at Stockholm, May 7, 1697. Unfortunately, some inaccuracies occur in the work, which have been repeated by later historians, both European and American.[1]

The *Dissertatio Gradualis de Svionum in America Colonia* of Johan Danielson Svedberg[2] cites Campanius, and makes the first mention of Papegâja as provisional Governor of New Sweden. The author was a nephew of Jesper Svedberg, Bishop of Skara, who had the supervision of the Swedish Lutheran congregations in America,[3] and cousin-german to Emmanuel Swedenborg, the heresiarch, and his brother Jesper Svedberg, who taught school for over a year at Raccoon in New Jersey.

In the diplomatic correspondence of John de Witt[4] mention is made of the attempts of Sweden to obtain compensation for the loss of her colony from the States-General.

The *Dissertatio Gradualis de Plantatione Ecclesiæ Svecanæ in America* of Tobias Eric Biörck[5] cites Campanius and speaks of all the governors of New Sweden, giving a particular account of Minuit from statements of the Rev. Provost Andreas Sandel, who was pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church at Wicacoa from 1702 to 1719, and married a descendant of early Swedish colonists. The author himself was born in New Sweden, being the son of the Rev. Provost Eric Biörck, who built the Swedish Lutheran church at Christina in 1698 (his mother being a scion of old Swedish families on the Delaware), and cousin to the Rev. Provost Andreas Hesselius,[6] who succeeded his father in the charge of the church at Christina in 1713, and who commends the writer in a letter prefixed to his work.

[1] One of the most noteworthy of these is the assertion that the Swedes settled on the Delaware as early as 1631. This is reiterated by Cronholm and Sprengel, and in Smith's *New Jersey*, Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Holmes's *Annals*, etc., and even in a note *in loco* of Du Ponceau himself.

[2] *Dissertatio Gradualis de Svionum in America Colonia, quam, ex consensu Ampl. Senatus Philosoph. in Inclita Academia Upsaliensi, Præside viro amplissimo M. Petro Elvio, Mathem. Prof. Reg. et Ord., publice ventilandam subjicit Johannes Dan. Swedberg, Dalekarlus, in Audit. Gustav. Maj. ad diem* xxiii. *Junii Anni* MDCCIX. *Upsaliæ, ex officina Werneriana.* Small 8vo, vi+32 pp. A copy is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Cf. *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 3,099; Muller's *Books on America* (1872), no. 1,141; (1877), no. 3,137. A copy has been recently priced at 50 marks.

[3] Bishop Svedberg's interest in the posterity of the old colonists of New Sweden is well evinced in his *America Illuminata* (Skara, 1732, small 8vo, 163 pp. + Indices), copies of which are in the libraries of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and of Harvard College. Cf. *Brinley Catalogue*, ii. 3,100; Muller's *Books on America* (1872), no. 1,140. Well-bound copies have been recently priced at £10. See also *Vita Jesperi Swedberg, Episcopi Scarensis*, an academical dissertation by Carolus Johannes Knos, vestrogothus (Upsala, 1787), a copy of which is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as well as a portrait of the bishop, signed "H. C. Fehlingk delin. Joh. Chr. Böcklin Aug. Vind. sc. Lipsiæ."

[4] *Brieven geschreven ende gewisselt tusschen der Herr Johan de Witt, Raedt-Pensionaris, etc., ende de Gevolmachtigden van den Staedt der Vereenigde Nederlanden, so in Vranckryck, Engelandt, Sweden, Danemarcken, Poolen, etc.*, 1652–1659. The Hague, 1723–1725, 6 vols., 4to.

[5] בשם יהוה *Dissertatio Gradualis, de Plantatione Ecclesiæ Svecanæ in America, quam, suffragante Ampl. Senatu Philosoph. in Regio Upsal. Athenæo, Præside Viro Amplissimo atque Celeberrimo Mag. Andrea Brörwall, Eth. et Polit. Prof. Reg. et Ord., in Audit. Gust. Maj. d.* 14 *Jun. An. MDCCXXXI., examinandam modeste sistit Tobias E. Biörck, Americano-Dalekarlus. Upsaliæ, Literis Wernerianis.* 4to, viii+34 pp. Embellished with an original folding copper-plate map, engraved by Jonas Silfverling, Upsala, 1731, entitled *Delineatio Pennsilvaniæ et Cæsareæ Nov. Occident seu West N. Iersey in America*, indicating many of the settlements of the descendants of the old colonists of New Sweden. A copy is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Cf. *Historical Magazine*, art. iii., April, 1873, by J. R. Bartlett; Muller's *Books on America* (1872), no. 1,137, where it is claimed that it is the first work on New Sweden written by a native, and published in Sweden. A copy has been recently priced at 50 marks.

[6] Author of *Kort Berettelse om then Swenska Kyrkios närwarande Tilstånd i America, samt oförgripeliga tankar om thesz widare förkofring. . . . Tryckt i Norkiöping, Anno* 1725 (4to, 24 pp.). The book contains no new information about the early history of the Swedish colony on the Delaware. A copy of it is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The *Breviate*, Penn *vs.* Baltimore,[1] contains extracts from several of the Dutch Records in the Secretary's Office at New York, including Kieft's letter to Minuit, dated May 6, 1638, Hudde's Report to Stuyvesant of 1648, an Indian deed of sale to the Dutch of land on the east side of the Delaware, dated April 15, 1649, and so forth.

Anders Anton von Stiernman's *Samling utaf Kongl. Bref, Stadgar och Förordningar* etc., *angående Sveriges Rikes Commercie, Politie, och Œconomie uti gemen*[2] and *Monumenta Politico-Ecclesiastica*[3] comprise documents relating to the Swedish West India Company and their colony.

Peter Kalm's *Resa til Norra America*[4] imparts some information concerning the settlement gathered by that illustrious Swede from Maons Keen, Nils Gustafson, and other descendants of ancient Swedish colonists, during a visit paid by him to the Delaware in 1748–1749.

William Smith, in his *History of New York*,[5] gives a brief account of New Sweden, citing the *Beschryvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt*, etc. He says that the English who were driven from the Schuylkill in 1642 were Marylanders, without, however, indicating his authority for the statement, which cannot be corroborated.

In 1759 appeared the *Beskrifning om de Svenska Församlingars Tilstånd uti Nya Sverige* of the Rev. Israel Acrelius,[6] Provost over the Swedish congregations in America

[1] Publication passed August 11, 1742. A copy is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[2] *Ifrån år* 1523 *in til närvarande tid. Uppå Hans Kongl. Maj: ts nådigesta befallning giord.* Första del, Stockholm, 1747; andra del, ibid., 1750; tredje del, ibid., 1753; fjerde del, ibid., 1760; femte del, ibid., 1766; sjette del, ibid., 1775. In the same author's *Matrickel öfwer Sweriges Rikes Ridderskap och Adel*, 1754, p. 350, occurs a notice of Johan Printz, stating that after his return from New Sweden he was made a General, and in 1658 Governor of Jönköping. It is added: "He was born in the parsonage of Bottneryd, and died in 1663, without sons, the family thus ending with him in the male line." As to these points compare, however, Prof. Dr. Ernst Heinrich Kneschke's *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, vii. pp. 253–54 (Leipsic, 1867), art. "Printz, Printz v. Buchan," which speaks of Governor Printz as belonging to a Lutheran branch of an old Austrian noble family that emigrated to Holstein soon after the Reformation, and finally settled in East Prussia. According to this authority he had a son Johann Friedrich, who became a Major-General in the army of the Electorate of Brandenburg, and was ennobled in 1661 under the name of Printz von Buchan, whose descendants still live in Germany. In mitigation of the blame attached by Stiernman to Printz for the surrender of Chemnitz, see Puffendorf *in loco.*

[3] *Ex Archivo Palmskiöldiano nunc primum in lucem edita. Præside Olavo Celsio. Upsaliæ*, MDCCL. (Academical dissertations.)

[4] Stockholm, 1753–1761, 3 vols., 8vo. In German, Göttingen, 1754–64; and in English, Warrington and London, 1770–1771, 2d ed. 1772. Cf. Sabin's *Dictionary*, ix. 382. Kalm's *Tankar med Guds Wälsegnande Nåd och Wederbörandes Tilstånd om Nyttan som kunnat tilfalla wårt kjära Fädernesland af des Nybygge i America ferdom Nya Swerige kalladt* (Aboæ, 1754, 4to) gives a short account of the fertility and the chief natural products of the territory on the Delaware, nearly the same as the fuller one in the author's *Resa.*

[5] London, 1757. See Mr. Stevens's chapter in Vol. III.

[6] *Beskrifning om de Swenska Församlingars Forna och Närwarande Tilstånd, uti det så kallade Nya Swerige, sedan Nya Nederland, men nu för tiden Pensylvanien, samt nästliggande Orter wid Alfwen De la Ware, Wäst-Yersey och New-Castle County uti Norra America; Utgifwen af Israel Acrelius, För detta Probst öfwer de Swenska Församlingar i America och Kyrkoherde uti Christina, men nu Probst och Kyrkoherde uti Fellingsbro. Stockholm, Tryckt hos Harberg et Hesselberg*, 1759. 4to, xx+534 pp. The work is dedicated to Queen Louisa Ulrica of Sweden. A translation of portions of the book, by the Rev. Nicholas Collin, D.D., is given in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. i. pp. 401 *et seq.* A translation of the whole of it, by the Rev. William M. Reynolds, D.D., with numerous additional notes, was published in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. xi. (Philadelphia, 1874). The latter is accompanied by a portrait of the author, engraved from a copy in oils by Christian Schuessele (in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) from a picture sent to this country by Acrelius, now the property of Trinity Church, Wilmington, Del.; as well as by a map of New Sweden, engraved from a copy (belonging to the same Historical Society) of the original of Engineer Lindström, still preserved in Sweden. There are copies in

and pastor of the church at Christina from 1749 to 1756. Although the greater part of this work is devoted to the subsequent history of the Swedes on the Delaware, the first eighty-eight pages of it relate to the period of the supremacy of Sweden over her colony, and contain the most complete and accurate account of the settlement till then published. The author cites and criticises Van der Donck and Campanius, and imparts fresh information derived from manuscripts in the Archives of the Kingdom of Sweden, Dutch Records in New York, and manuscripts of the Rev. Anders Rudman, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran congregation at Wicacoa from 1697 to 1701, and builder of the present Gloria Dei Church of Philadelphia.

Modeer's *Historia om Svea Rikets Handel*[1] embraces facts relating to the Swedish West India Company.

Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the Years* 1653 *and* 1654[2] mentions the convention entered into by Sweden and England for the observance of friendship between their colonies in America.

The *Journal* of John Winthrop, first Governor of Massachusetts, first printed at Hartford in 1790,[3] the second volume of Ebenezer Hazard's *Historical Collections*, comprising "Records of the United Colonies of New England," consisting of Acts of the Commissioners,[4] printed at Philadelphia in 1794, and the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, printed at Hartford in 1797, cast light on the relations between the colonies of New England and New Sweden.

In Professor Christoph Daniel Ebeling's history of Delaware, in the fifth volume of his *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von America*,[5] occurs a good summary account of New Sweden, compiled from nearly all the works then published.

The Rev. William Hubbard's *General History of New England*[6] includes references to the settlements on the Delaware.

In 1825 appeared Carl David Arfwedson's *De Colonia Nova Svecia Historiola*,[7] giving scarcely any account of the settlement itself, but containing a fuller notice of the origin of the enterprise, with the events which led to the formation of the Swedish West India Company. It is also especially valuable as comprehending several important documents relating to the history of New Sweden not elsewhere printed. Such are parts of *Een Berättelse om Nova Suecia uthi America* and *Relation öfwer thet ahnfall thermed the Hollendske under P. Stüvesant, Directors öfwer N. Nederland, anförande then Swenske Colonien i N. Svecia, oförmodeligen, med fiendteligheet, öfwerfalla monde*,[8] both by

the libraries of Harvard College and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and in the Carter-Brown collection. (Cf. Sabin's *Dictionary*, i. 133; *Brinley Catalogue*, ii. 3,030; Muller's *Books on America* [1872], no. 1,134; also *Catalogue of Paintings*, etc., belonging to the Hist. Soc. of Penn., no. 59. Priced recently at £7 7*s*.) Acrelius died in 1800.

[1] In *Svenska patriotiska Sällskapets Handlingar*, Stockholm, 1770.

[2] London, 1772.

[3] The later edition of James Savage, under the title *History of New England* (Boston, 1825–1826), contains also the continuation of the *Journal*, with additional matter on the Swedes. See preceding chapter, and Vol. III.

[4] Very carefully reprinted in *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, vols. ix. and x. (Boston, 1859.)

[5] Hamburg, 1799. The author's treatment of the subject in his histories of New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the same work, vols. iii. and vi. (Hamburg, 1796 and 1803), is not so full. Ebeling's library, now in Harvard College Library, shows several of the rarest of the early books on New Sweden.

[6] In *Mass Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vols. v. and vi. (Boston, 1815). Reprinted in 1848. For an estimate of Hubbard see Vol. III.

[7] *De Colonia Nova Svecia in Americam Borealem Deducta Historiola. Quam, venia ampl. Fac. Phil. Upsal., Præside Mag. Erico Gust. Geijer, Historiar. Prof. Reg. et Ord. . . . P. P. Auctor Carolus David Arfwedson, Vestrogothus. In Audit. Gust. die xix. Nov. MDCCCXXV. H. A. M. S. Upsaliæ. Excudebant Regiæ Academiæ Typographi.* 4to, iv+34 pp. Copies are in the libraries of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and of Harvard College. Cf. Muller's *Books on America* (1872), no. 1,135; Brinley, ii. 3,031.

[8] A translation of this, by the late Hon. George P. Marsh, is given in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, second series, vol. i. pp. 443 *et seq.*

Governor Rising, a paper concerning the Finnish emigration to America in 1664, referred to in the preceding narrative, and a short *Promemoria angående Nya Sverige i America*, all of which are comprised in the Palmskiöld Collections in the Royal Library of the University of Upsala. The work likewise includes a *Series Sacerdotum, qui a Svecia missi sunt in Americam*,[1] and a map of New Sweden.

Joseph W. Moulton's *History of New Netherland*[2] contains nothing new except a reference to the Report of Andries Hudde among the Dutch Records in New York, and an estimate of the value of the writings of Campanius and Acrelius.

James N. Barker's *Sketches of the Primitive Settlements on the River Delaware*[3] is based on earlier publications.

In *The Register of Pennsylvania*, edited by Samuel Hazard, volumes iv. and v.,[4] are printed manuscripts which are in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, and among them (particularly valuable) are translations from a French version of copies of Swedish documents procured at Stockholm by the Hon. Jonathan Russel, Minister of the United States to the Court of Sweden.

The *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, by the Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, Rector of the Swedish churches in Philadelphia and its vicinity,[5] shows no new matter save a short account of the colony from manuscripts of the Rev. Anders Rudman, translated by the Rev. Nicholas Collin.

Erik Gustaf Geijer's *Svenska Folkets Historia*[6] makes slight references to the formation of the Ship and West India Companies of Sweden.

George Bancroft's *History of the United States*[7] gives a brief account of the settlement, drawing more largely than former works upon the *Argonautica Gustaviana*, and magnifying the religious and political motives of Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna in attempting the enterprise.

John Leeds Bozman's *History of Maryland*[8] cites the statement in Smith's *History of New York*, that the English residents on the Schuylkill who were dispossessed in 1642 were colonists from Maryland, but qualifies it by affirming that the Maryland Records make no mention of the settlement. Other references are made in the work to the relations between New Sweden and Maryland.

William Huffington's *Delaware Register and Farmers' Magazine*[9] contains a translation of a grant of land on the Delaware from Director-General Kieft to Abraham Planck and others in 1646 (referred to by Acrelius), preserved among the State Papers at Dover.

The first volume of the second series of the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*[10] has a translation of a Report of Andreas Hudde, Commissary on the Delaware, from the Dutch Colonial Records.

In 1843 appeared the *Notice sur la Colonie de la Nouvelle Suède*, by H. Ternaux-Compans,[11] believed to be the first and only French book on the subject. It gives a

[1] A translation of it is inserted in Du Ponceau's translation of Campanius, already mentioned, p. 109 *et seq.*

[2] In *History of the State of New York*, part ii., New York, 1826.

[3] *Sketches of the Primitive Settlements on the River Delaware. A Discourse delivered before the Society for the Commemoration of the Landing of William Penn, on the 24th of October*, 1827. *By James N. Barker. Published by request of the Society. Philadelphia*, 1827. 8vo, 62 pp. Extracts from it are given in Samuel Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. p. 179 *et seq.* (Philadelphia, 1828.)

[4] Philadelphia, 1829 and 1830.

[5] Philadelphia, 1835, 12mo, 180 pp.; 2d ed. 1858, 12mo, 179 pp., omitting the charter of the Swedish churches.

[6] Örebro, 1832–1836.

[7] Vol. ii., Boston, 1837.

[8] Baltimore, 1837. Cf. Mr. Brantley's chapter in Vol. III.

[9] Vol. i. p. 9. Dover, 1838.

[10] Page 428 *et seq.* New York, 1841.

[11] Paris, 8vo, 29 pp. A Swedish translation of it, bearing the title of *Underrättelse om den Fordna Svenska Kolonien i Norra Amerika kallad Nya Sverige*, "*med Anmärkningar och Tillägg af Öfversättaren*," was printed at Stockholm in 1844 (8vo, title+41 pp.). The author's treat-

summary history of the settlement, drawn from the *Argonautica Gustaviana*, Loccenius, Campanius, and Acrelius, and contains a copy of Lindström's map.

A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, by Benjamin Ferris,[1] gives a very full account of New Sweden, extracted from works already published in English, and is interesting and valuable as identifying and describing many of the places mentioned.

The *History of New Netherland*, by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D.,[2] imparts fresh information about the relations between the Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware, and gives a translation of a "Memorial delivered by His Swedish Majesty's Resident to their High Mightinesses, in support of the good and complete Right of the Swedish Crown and its subjects to *Nova Suecia* in America, June, 1664," from the original in Aitzema.

Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia, tjugondenionde delen,[3] contains some letters of the Swedish Government regarding New Sweden.

Samuel Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*[4] supply a comprehensive history of New Sweden, derived from several of the preceding works, and comprising new matter drawn from manuscripts of the American Philosophical Society, Albany Records, translated by Van der Kemp, the Holland and London Documents, procured by J. R. Brodhead, New Haven Court and Colony Records, Records of the United Colonies of New England, and Trumbull and other manuscripts.

The *Documentary History of the State of New York*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., vol. iii.,[5] gives a letter addressed to the Classis of Amsterdam, Aug. 5, 1657, by the Reformed Dutch clergymen at New Amsterdam, Johann. Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius, referring to the circumstances of the submission of the Swedes to Director-General Stuyvesant; and the same work, vol. iv.,[6] contains a description of New Netherland in 1643–1644, by the Rev. Isaac Jogues, S. J.,[7] mentioning the Swedes on the Delaware.

In *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*,[8] vol. vi., are published the report of a committee appointed by that body to make explorations and researches as to the site of Fort Nassau, with a letter on the same subject, and a paper, entitled "The History and Location of Fort Nassau upon the Delaware," by Edward Armstrong, Recording Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The latter is clear upon the periods of occupancy of that stronghold by the Dutch, and is especially valuable as comprising an attempt to give a complete list of maps of the Delaware River previous to 1675.[9]

In *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, vol. ii.,[10] is found the action of the General Court in 1644 on the petition of Boston merchants for a charter for a company to trade near the Delaware.

Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. iii.,[11] procured by John Romeyn Brodhead in England, include a letter of Jerome Hawley, of Virginia, to Secretary Sir Francis Windebanke, referred to in the preceding narrative, "A Declaration shewing the illegality and unlawfull proceedings of the Patent of Maryland,"

ment of his theme so closely resembles Bancroft's, that we infer that he followed the American historian without acknowledgment.

[1] Wilmington, 1846, 8vo, xii + 312 pp. Among its illustrations are a reproduction of the representation of the siege of Fort Christina in Du Ponceau's *Campanius*, and an original "Map of the Original Settlements on the Delaware by the Dutch and Swedes."

[2] New York, 1846–1848. It reproduces Van der Donck's map of New Netherland See the preceding chapter.

[3] Stockholm, 1848.

[4] Philadelphia, 1850.

[5] Albany, 1850. See the preceding chapter.

[6] Albany, 1851.

[7] Reappearing among "The Jogues Papers," translated by John Gilmary Shea, in *New York Historical Society Collections*, second series, iii. 215, *et seq.* See the preceding chapter.

[8] Newark, N. J., 1853.

[9] On the date of the building of Fort Nassau, see O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, i. 100. On maps, see note on Lindström's Map.

[10] Boston, 1853.

[11] Albany, 1853.

dated 1649, mentioning the great trade of the Swedes and Dutch with the Indians, and the singularly inaccurate "Relation of Mr. Garrett Van Sweeringen, of the City of St. Maries, concerning his knowledge of the seateing of Delaware Bay and River by the Dutch and Swedes," subscribed in 1684.

John Romeyn Brodhead's *History of the State of New York*[1] gives the best Dutch account of the relations between the Swedes and Hollanders, amply citing authorities on the subject. It also contains a map of New Netherland by the author.

Fredrik Ferd. Carlson's *Sveriges Historia under Konungarne af Pfalziska Huset*[2] makes a brief reference to the colony, imparting fresh information from Printz's letters and report of 1647, and the Minutes of the Royal Council, in the archives of Sweden.

Among *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vols. i. and ii.,[3] procured by J. R. Brodhead in Holland, are many papers concerning the relations between the Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware.

Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven[4] contain information with regard to attempts of inhabitants of New England to settle in New Sweden.

De Navorscher[5] for 1858 prints two letters from Johannes Bogaert, "Schrijver," to Schepen Bontemantel, Director of the Dutch West India Company, dated Aug. 28 and Oct. 31, 1655 (N. S.), relating the arrival of the ship "De Waag" at New Amsterdam, and mentioning some details concerning the conquest of New Sweden by the Hollanders not elsewhere recorded.

In the Introduction to *The Record of the Court at Upland* (1676–1681),[6] by Edward Armstrong, a brief account of New Sweden is presented, with citations from copies of a letter and the Report of 1647 of Governor Printz in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; while the Editor's Notes are valuable as identifying many places on the Delaware, and comprising personal references to several of the colonists.

The *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, by the late George Smith, M.D.,[7] contains a summary history of New Sweden, with corrections of former authors and additional information upon questions of topography, besides biographical notices of some of the Swedish inhabitants. Its illustrations include the reproduction of a part of Roggeveen's map of New Netherland, an original "Map of the Early Settlements of Delaware County," and a "Diagram" and "Draft of the First Settled Part of Chester, before called Upland."

Professor Claes Theodor Odhner's *Sveriges Inre Historia under Drottning Christinas Förmyndare*[8] is valuable for its account of the Swedish South, Ship, and West India Companies, and its statement of the origin of the scheme of colonizing the Delaware, drawn from original documents in the archives of Sweden.

G. M. Asher's *Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland*[9] was "intended," says the Preface, "to be as complete

[1] New York, 1853–1871. See the preceding chapter; and Mr. Stevens's, in Vol. III.

[2] Stockholm, 1855–1856.

[3] Albany, 1856–1858.

[4] Hartford, 1857–1858.

[5] Published at Amsterdam. A translation of the letters referred to, by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, appears in the *Historical Magazine*, ii. 257 *et seq.* (New York, 1858).

[6] In *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. vii., Philadelphia, 1860. The frontispiece consists of an engraving of a mural tablet in St. Paul's Church, Chester, Pa., in memory of Ann Keen, daughter of Jöran Kyn, of Upland, and her husband James Sandelands, one of the provincial councillors of Pennsylvania appointed by Deputy-Governor William Markham in 1681,—the oldest tombstone extant on the Delaware

[7] Philadelphia, 1862.

[8] Stockholm, 1865. The matter referred to in the text has been translated by the writer of this essay for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. vii.

[9] *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland, and to the Dutch West India Company and to its possessions in Brazil, Angola, etc., as also on the Maps, Charts, etc., of New Netherland, with fac-similes of the map of New Netherland by N. J. Visscher and of the three existing views of New Amsterdam. Compiled from the Dutch public and private libraries, and from the collection of Mr. Frederik Muller in Amsterdam,*

a collection as the author was able to make it of the printed materials for the history and description of New Netherland." It mentions several works connected with the history of New Sweden, particularly those of Willem Usselinx, whose character and aims in promoting the formation of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies are cordially appreciated by the writer;[1] and its account of maps embracing the Delaware admirably supplements the essay of Armstrong already spoken of.

Although Francis Vincent's *History of the State of Delaware*[2] contains no new information on New Sweden, it is worthy of notice as offering a *good*, if not, as the title announces, "a *full* account of the first Dutch and Swedish settlements."

Professor Abraham Cronholm's *Sveriges Historia under Gustaf II. Adolf*[3] may be consulted with reference to the South Company and other subjects.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xxviii.,[4] contains an article on "The Swedes on the Delaware and their Intercourse with New England," by Frederic Kidder, giving a résumé of the statements of earlier authors, and including an English translation of a Dutch copy of an "Examination upon the letters of the Governor of New England to the Governor of New Sweden," in the presence of Governor Printz and others, Jan. 16, 1644, and letters of Governors Printz and Winthrop[5] never before printed. The article was also published separately with heliotype fac-similes of the letters cited.

The *Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, by William H. Egle, M.D.,[6] imparts no fresh information on the early Swedish settlements on the Delaware; but it records the discovery in the autumn of 1873, in a grave near Washington, Lancaster County, in that State, of certain so-called "Indian relics," one of which, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (represented in a cut in the book), so nearly resembles the helmet of the Swedish soldier of the seventeenth century (shown in a figure at the late Centennial Exhibition of Philadelphia), as to suggest the possibility that it may have been worn by a soldier of New Sweden. The book reproduces Campanius's map of New Sweden after Nicolas Visscher.

In *Historiskt Bibliotek, Ny Följd, I.*,[7] appeared a paper entitled "Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning, 1637–1642," by C. T. Odhner, Professor of History in the Uni-

by G. M. Asher, LL.D., Privat-Docent of Roman law in the University of Heidelberg. Amsterdam, Frederik Muller, 1854–1867. See the preceding chapter.

[1] With regard to Usselinx, Asher refers to Berg van Dussen Muilkerk's work on New Netherland, written in 1851, Captain P. N. Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (La Haye, 1853), and the histories of Dutch political economy by Professor O. van Rees and Professor E. Laspeyres. The last of these books, entitled *Geschichte der volkswirthschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer*, is also cited by Professor Odhner.

[2] Philadelphia, 1870.

[3] Stockholm, 1857–1872.

[4] Pages 42 *et seq.* Boston, 1874.

[5] Printz's letter is not in reply to this of Winthrop (as Mr. Kidder supposes), but to another (dated April 22, 1644) mentioned by Sprinchorn. It is written in Latin, a language necessarily used by the Swedish Governor in such correspondence, though he felt his incompetence for the task, saying in his report of the same month that "for the last twenty-seven years he had handled muskets and pistols oftener than Cicero and Tacitus." He therefore desired his superiors to send him a Latin secretary, and, repeating his request in his Report of 1647, hopes that that person might render aid in administering justice and solving intricate problems of law, which occasionally arose, besides relieving him from the embarrassment of appearing in court in certain cases as both plaintiff and judge.

[6] Harrisburg, 1876; 2d ed., 1880.

[7] Stockholm, 1876. A few copies of the article were printed separately (8vo, 39 pp.) A translation of it, with notes, containing lists of colonists who emigrated to New Sweden in the first four Swedish expeditions, and other information, by the writer of this essay, is given in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 269 *et seq.*, p. 395 *et seq.*, and p. 462 *et seq.* (Philadelphia, 1879.) For further information concerning Peter Spiring (ennobled in 1636, under the name of Silfvercron till Norsholm), particularly mentioned by Odhner, see the latter's *Sveriges deltagande i Westfaliska fredskongressen*, p. 46; and for additional references to Samuel Blommaert, also spoken of by the author, see *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vols. i. and xii.

versity of Lund, which gives the most complete account of the founding and early history of the colony of New Sweden yet written, based on the Oxenstjerna manuscripts and numerous other documents preserved in several departments of the archives of Sweden. At the end of this invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the settlement is given nearly the whole of Printz's *Relation* to the Swedish West India Company of 1644, with its accompanying *Rulla* of all the people then living on the Delaware.

Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. xii.,[1] edited by B. Fernow, Keeper of the Historical Records of New York, consists of "Documents relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Translated and Compiled from Original Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany, and in the Royal Archives at Stockholm," — a title sufficiently indicative of the scope and value of the book.

Pennsylvania Archives, second series, vol. v.,[2] comprises a reprint of some papers concerning New Sweden extracted from *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vols. i., ii., and iii., and other sources; and the same series, vol. vii.,[3] embraces a selection of similar matter from the twelfth volume of the same New York *Documents*.

Historiskt Bibliotek of 1878 contains "Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia," by Carl K. S. Sprinchorn,[4] constituting a very worthy complement to Professor Odhner's *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning*, already spoken of. After briefly capitulating the statements of the latter treatise with regard to the origin of the enterprise, and the history of the first four Swedish expeditions to the Delaware, and the one from Holland under Swedish auspices, the author proceeds to give the only account yet written of the equipment of the last six expeditions from Sweden, with fresh details as to their fate, drawn chiefly from unpublished manuscripts in the archives of his country. He also supplies the Swedish version of the difficulties with the Dutch and English, and recites the several endeavors of Sweden either to recover possession of her colony or to obtain satisfactory compensation for her loss of it. In the Appendix are printed documents relating to purchases of land from the Indians, and the Report of Governor Rising, dated July 13, 1654. A map of New Sweden, which accompanies the dissertation, indicates the principal places and the boundaries of the settlement.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,[5] vols. ii. *et seq.*, contains a series of articles, by the writer of this essay, on "The Descendants of Jöran Kyn, the Founder of Upland," — the only genealogical account of the posterity of an early Swedish settler on the Delaware yet printed. Besides speaking of persons who bore the family name, it includes sketches of, or references to, Captain Sven Schute, Lieutenant Anders Dahlbo, the Rev. Lars Carlson Lock, Doctor Timon Stiddem, and Justices Peter Rambo, Peter Cock, and Olof Stille, inhabitants of New Sweden whose offspring intermarried with members of the Kyn (or Keen) family, and supplies instances of matrimonial alliances between the latter and many distinguished Americans of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, and German ancestry, as well as noblemen and gentlemen of Europe.

Benjamin H. Smith's *Atlas of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*,[6] affords accurate maps of Tinicum, Upland, Marcus Hook, and their vicinities, indicating tracts of land originally held by Swedes, as publicly recorded. It also includes an excellent essay on

[1] Albany, 1877.

[2] Harrisburg, 1877. The frontispiece consists of a portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden, from the same original as that which appears on the writer's map of New Sweden, accompanying this chapter. It reproduces Van der Donck's map of New Netherland.

[3] Harrisburg, 1878.

[4] Also printed separately, the titlepage describing it as *Akademisk Afhandling, som med vederbörligt tillstånd för erhållande af Filosofisk Doktorsgrad vid Lunds Universitet till offentlig granskning framställes af Carl K. S. Sprinchorn, Filosofie Licentiat, Sk.* (*Stockholm*, 1878, *P. A. Norstedt & Söner, Kongl. Boktryckare.* 8vo, 102 pp.) A translation of it has been made, by the writer of this essay, for publication by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[5] Philadelphia, 1878, *et seq. ann.*

[6] Philadelphia, 1880.

NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN BY PURCHASE FROM INDIANS BY HOLLENDER, 1640. RECOGNISED IN INSTRUCTIONS TO PRINTZ, 1642
(PENNSYLVANIA)
(TRENTON)
Falls of Asinpinck
Sanckhickan
Falls of Asinpinck Alummingh
Menahannonckstuck
Sipassingsland
Hackanzuckan
Kikimens (Neshaminy Creek)
Mirenets Creek
(BRISTOL)
(BURLINGTON)
Manecrunsinka
Mancongius
(Mancocas) Creek
Poenpissingh
Struts
(Pensauken) Creek
Sinsessingh
Menejackse, Linde, Schyler Kil (Schuylkill)
Aieskin (Frankford Creek)
Penickpacha (Pennypack Creek)
Karakung or Yattugdenon (Mill) or Cobbs Creek
Terahon (Darby) Creek
(PHILADELPHIA)
(Ridley Creek)
Upland (Chester) Creek
Marckhanneck
NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN BY
(BURDEN)
Rödlers (Redbank) Creek
Rode Udden (Red Bank)
Tehoke
Arwames
Windrufwe Udden
Memiraho
Manta (Manatawny) Creek
CHARLES
Swapexaxon or Hylers Creek
(Chesecosaugh)
(Oldmans Creek)
Narraticon (Raccoon) Creek
Sickpeckens Sippunck
Assamahackingh or Varkens (Salem) Creek
Obissquasoot
Tamahonck
(SALEM)
Fort Nya Elfsborg 1643-1651 (Elsinborough Point)
Horten Revier (Alloways Creek)
Assuetkonk or Rodare (Maurice) River
(BRIDGETON)
Cohansey Creek
Sepa Hackingh
Minques, or Apoquenema (Appoquinimink) Creek
Häger Udden
Bomtiens Udden
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN BY PURCHASE FROM INDIANS BY MINUIT.
SOUTH OR NEW SWEDEN RIVER
(NEW)
(MARYLAND)
(Little Duck Creek)
(Little Creek)
(Egg Island)
NIEUW PORT MAY
DELAWARE, SOUTH, GODYN'S
OR NEW SWEDEN BAY
SWAANENDAEL
LAND OF GODYN
AND BLOMMAERT
1631
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cape May
(Mispillion Creek)
(Cedar Creek)
(Prime Hook Creek)
Cape La Warre, James, Cornelius or Hinlopen
Swaanendael Colony of Godyn and Blommaert, Dutch Fort 1631 (Lewes)
(Lewes Creek)
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN ACCORDING TO INSTRUCTIONS TO PRINTZ, 1642
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN BY PURCHASE FROM INDIANS BY HOLLENDER 1641 RECOGNISED IN INSTRUCTIONS TO PRINTZ, 1642
CHRISTINA MED GUDS NADE SVERIGES GOTES OCH VENDES DROTTNING
A.D. 1633-A.D. 1654
MAP OF
NEW SWEDEN
1638-1655
BY GREGORY B. KEEN.
Scale in English Statute Miles
1 2 3 4 5 10 15

land titles in the county, with translations of Swedish grants to Governor Printz and other settlers.

Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit, by Joseph J. Mickley,[1] is valuable from the fact that "most of the materials used in it were taken from original unpublished documents preserved in the libraries of Sweden."

The short paper entitled "Nya Sverige," in *Svenska Bilder*,[2] by R. Bergström, comprises little of interest not included in works above mentioned.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. vi.,[3] contains a translation of the letter of Peter Minuit proposing the founding of New Sweden, given in a note to the preceding narrative, and an obligation of Jacob Svenson, "agent for the Swedes' Governor of Delaware Bay," and John Manning, of Boston, in favor of the Colony of Massachusetts, dated August 2, 1653, binding them not to carry certain provisions, obtained in New England, to either Dutch or French in those parts of America.

The above list of printed authorities on the history of New Sweden is designed to comprise all books within the knowledge of the writer which present either new facts or noteworthy opinions in relation to that subject. It only remains for him to add that all the unpublished manuscripts concerning the topic still extant are in Sweden, the greater part among the archives of the Kingdom at Stockholm, some among those of Skokloster, and others in the Palmskiöld Collections of the Library of the University of Upsala, and in the Library of the University of Lund. These embrace papers of Usselinx, correspondence of Oxenstjerna with Spiring, Blommaert, and Minuit, documents with regard to the Swedish West India Company and the equipment of the several expeditions to the Delaware, commissions and instructions for officers of the colony, letters and reports of the governors, and other records of the settlement, and diplomatic intercourse between Sweden and foreign nations about colonial questions of mutual interest.[4] Copies of many of these (including nearly the whole of Lindström's writings) have been procured by the late Mr. Mickley and other worthy antiquaries for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and are in process of translation for publication under the auspices of that body. From those manuscripts was extracted much of the material of a discourse on "The Early Swedish Colony on the Delaware," read by the writer of this essay at the annual meeting of the same Society in May, 1881,[5] and before the Historical Society of Delaware the following November; and from them has also been derived whatever appears in print for the first time in the preceding narrative.[6]

Gregory B. Keen.

[1] Published by the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1881. (8vo, 27 pp.) The paper was read before that Society Dec. 10, 1874, and should be supplemented and corrected in some particulars from the essays afterward written by Professor Odhner and Doctor Sprinchorn. Concerning Minuit, see also a paper by Friedrich Kapp, entitled "Peter Minnewit aus Wesel," in Von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, xv. 225 *et seq.*, and the preceding chapter.

[2] Pages 55–78. Stockholm, 1882. The author, who is librarian of the Royal Library at Stockholm, gives a brief list of books referring to New Sweden, embracing, besides others spoken of in the text, *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, 1870 (reprinted by the writer, C. G. Starbäck, in *Historiska Bilder*, Stockholm, 1871), and *Förr och Nu*, 1871.

[3] Philadelphia, 1882. The original of the second document mentioned is in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[4] Most of these are cited by Odhner and Sprinchorn, with indication of the places where they are now deposited.

[5] Referred to in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. v. pp. 468–69.

[6] For very kind aid the writer is especially indebted to Professor C. T. Odhner, of Lund.

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[Reference is commonly made but once to a book if repeatedly mentioned in the text; but other references are made when additional information about the book is conveyed.]

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